

THE ELECTRICAL WORKER OFFICIAL JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

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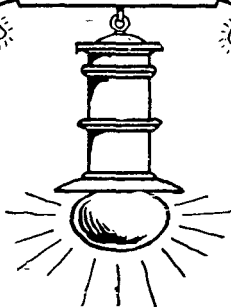
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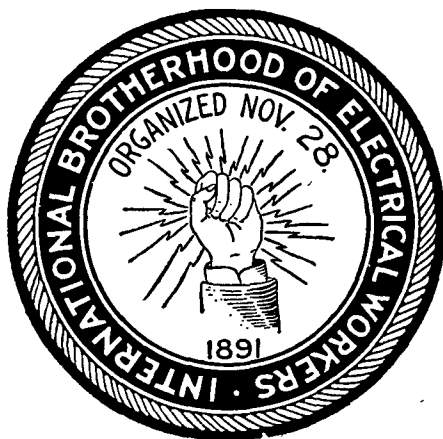
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Editorial

The Seceders' Report

EDUCATION

THE ELECTRICAL



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SAFEGUARDING OF THE RIGHTS OF LABOR BY LEGISLATION.

BY WILLIAM D. McNULTY.

Only within a comparatively short period has it been recognized among civilized communities that the working classes have rights that must be respected and safeguarded as jealously as those of employers of labor. Formerly the law took cognizance only of the employer, and the employe had no legal status.

A change in public feeling has been for many years at work. The employers' liability legislation in England for example, in its successive stages, has brought about conditions that would have been deemed impossible a few decades ago. The labor party in the British House of Commons is an outward and visible sign of the immense power that the workmen now wield. Their interests are in the hands of representatives who have sprung from their own class and who know their needs, instead of, as in the past, by members who had little knowledge of, and no sympathy with, labor's conditions and aspirations.

The most civilized nations of the world are discovering that the prosperity of their country depends not alone on the conquest of territory, not on great financial schemes, not on the size and efficiency of their armies and navies, but most of all on the condition of their working classes, who are the foundation of their prosperity, both at home and abroad.

Not only has the State come to consider the working man as one of its most valuable assets, but society at large now recognizes him as an important factor in the affairs of nations. A separate branch of the government serves him; he is elected to office, and the labor vote, both here and abroad, is an acknowledged strength in politics, so much so that men in high places have to respect the laborer's rights and value his power.

THE EARLY CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING-MAN.

The earliest relation of labor to capital was that of slavery, when men were bought and sold, and wages meant simply subsistence. Among the ancient civilizations all trade and mechanical work was considered degrading to a freeman, and only that trade was permissible which was carried on in foreign lands and through corporations. There was no division into land, labor and capital, as there is today. The man who owned the land owned the slaves who worked on it, and regarded as beneath his notice anything that dealt with labor.

When the working man was a slave, his years of labor were few, for his health and strength were not spared, and if he lived until he became useless, which did not happen often, he was generally put out of the way as being of no further value to his master and therefore not worth feeding.

The second position of labor was that of serfdom, which condition was little better than slavery, although the serf was sold with the land on which he was born and could not be separated from it. He was, however, just as much the property of his master as was the slave. Serfdom became extinct in England in 1660, but was not abolished in Russia until 1861.

As slavery gradually died out in Europe, owing largely to the influence of Christianity, a wage was paid to the worker, but his social condition was such that many preferred to beg or rob in order to live, rather than work, and the very name "proletary," which the Romans applied to wage earners, became a term of contempt, and is used even to this day as such in reference to the very lowest classes of society, whereas its true meaning is to designate "that class of

people who depend solely upon their physical labor for support."

The wage earner was the third step in the progress of the working man. The condition of the free wage earner of the agricultural class was no better, in fact it was often worse, than the slave or the serf. The latter was at least always sure of shelter, food and clothing at his master's expense, but the wage earner had to provide everything for himself and his family, by long hours of labor and at a miserable pittance which was so inadequate for his needs that his children were forced to begin their life of toil when they were little more than infants, in order that they might be fed.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM AND ITS RESULTS.

With the invention of machinery, handicraft was displaced by the factory, which may be said to date from 1746. The evils following the first stages of this change were unsanitary homes and crowded buildings, trades dangerous to health and life, overwork and low wages.

Education under such conditions was hardly to be thought of, for few of these young workers possessed the courage or the constitution that was needed to give attention to studies after their day's work was done. A most striking exception, perhaps, was that of Dr. David Livingstone, the great missionary and explorer, who was the first white man to penetrate the wilds of Africa, where others now can travel with comfort and safety, either for business or pleasure. David Livingstone worked sometimes sixteen hours a day in a cotton mill, and found time to learn Latin and to study the classics with such little help as a sympathetic village schoolmaster could give him at intervals.

The conditions that existed at this time differed little from those of the slave of earlier times; and as slavery has been blamed for the decay of Greece and Rome, England, always on the lookout for her interests, awoke to this fact, rather slowly perhaps, but still she led the way for others to follow.

Then came a reaction on the part of society, which had thus learned, rather tardily, that it could not afford to sacrifice its women and children by means of long hours of work, and as the true state of the working classes became known to those in power, effective measures were soon taken to improve it.

In 1802 an epidemic broke out in Manchester, England, in which the children and young persons of both sexes who worked in factories fell victims in such numbers that an investigation was made to discover why the disease made such ravages among these particular classes. It was found that their hours of work were so long that they were debilitated by constant confinement in unsanitary buildings where absolutely no provision was made for the preservation of health.

The rooms were low, badly lighted and insufficiently ventilated and overcrowded, and as a consequence those who practically lived in this atmosphere were ripe for disease.

THE BEGINNING OF LEGISLATION.

The result of this investigation was an Act of Parliament which provided for the health and morals of apprentices employed in mills and factories. Sanitary conditions were enforced, the hours of labor reduced to twelve, no work whatsoever being allowed in factories from nine at night until six in the morning. This act also placed the limit at which a child was permitted by law to begin work at nine years, with one and a half hours for meals deducted from the twelve, for all children between the ages of nine and sixteen.

This may not seem a very great improvement to us today, but it must be borne in mind that until 1802 children as young as five years were employed as helpers in factories; and the twelve-hour day came as a boon and a blessing to the toilers who had been accustomed to spend fourteen, sixteen and even eighteen hours a day in ill-ventilated, unclean factories, with no special rate of wages for overtime.

A hundred years ago the working man was considered something less than a horse, for it cost nothing to replace him when he dropped dead. Like a horse hitched to a wagon, he was expected to jog along, looking neither to the right nor the left, with no voice to protest against the will of the employer, and no right to lay down his burden when it became too heavy for him.

The act of 1802 was the first step towards a change in conditions. This was followed by the Saturday half holiday, which was introduced in 1825, and since that date so many acts for the betterment of the working classes have been passed, both abroad and in the United States, that the working man has gradually evolved from a creature without any rights or privileges beyond those which his master might choose to grant him, to a being of such importance that the state has taken him under its protection and dictates to the employer the terms upon which his services may be procured.

As a result, we have a race of healthy, hardy, happy men, with comfortable homes and well-grown children, who, before entering factories or workshops, have had every opportunity of a good elementary education given them by the state, and when employed provision is made for the preservation of their health, safety and morals.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND LEGISLATION.

It is a notable fact that throughout all this legislation there has been no movement on the part of society to protect its

working men. The theory seems to have been held over from the common law that they were strong enough to care for themselves and that only the industrially weak should be protected. The story of bettered conditions, shortened hours and opportunities for self-improvement is one which has been written by their own hands. Usually these advances have been made through the organizations known as labor unions. They have been sometimes aided by society, sometimes by well-meaning employers, and at other times by enthusiastic reformers; but the advances and improvements have been successful mainly because of the organization of the workmen themselves.

There has been, at times, bitter opposition to these organizations on the part of the public, principally on account of the inconvenience sometimes caused by a shortage of coal or of men to operate the cars necessary to transport the business portion of the community to and from home, or of other inconveniences.

The public is now better informed concerning the objects and methods of labor organizations, and therefore more inclined to regard and sympathize with the principles that are being established than to think only of personal inconveniences.

MORE LEGISLATION NEEDED.

A law regulating the compensation of workmen for accidents occurring while working for their employers has become increasingly necessary on account of the universal use of machinery. In the days of hand work, hand-turned machines, manufacturers on a small scale were many in every branch of industry then known. Each man would employ from one to, perhaps, half a dozen helpers, including apprentices. Many industries, such as spinning, weaving, shoemaking, bookbinding, and even printing, were practiced in the homes of the workers, where there was neither risk nor detriment to health. There was, therefore, no need for the state to step in and enforce its protection on these people.

But as soon as machines were made that could be worked on a larger scale, by horse or water power, the overcrowding of factories and workshops began, and with the invention of steam, new dangers arose. Then the introduction of electrical machinery continued to increase the dangers to an alarming extent, until accidents were so frequent among working men that measures for their safeguarding by the state were considered peremptory.

These accidents are due mainly to the negligence, indifference or greed of employers, who do not count the workman as an asset of any value, and take no precaution either for his safety or his health.

WORKINGMAN'S INSURANCE AND COMPENSATION.

The attempt to meet this situation was first begun in Germany, where acts insuring the lives and safety of workmen by insurance have been more in force since 1848. Acts were passed by England in 1897; France, Italy and Denmark, 1898; Switzerland, 1899; Spain, 1900; Holland, 1901; and Belgium, 1903. These measures have been extended by amendment until they now apply to nearly all industries and to nearly all injuries received in the course of employment.

There is considerable detail to these various acts, to prevent any workman from obtaining compensation who is not deserving of it, and usually payment is made according to wages earned, and in case of death, according to the degree in which the dead man's family was dependent upon him.

The United States has been slow in taking up the question of compensation for injury to the working classes, that has made such onward strides of progress in the legislative enactments of recent years in England and other European countries, but the New York State Compensation Act, now before Governor Hughes, is a notable step in the direction of due and proper recognition of the workman's right to be protected in his employment and his family safeguarded in case of accident.

The New York act applies to a special list of extra-hazardous employments, such as railroading, structural work, electrical work, and similar employments. The act does not take away any existing rights, but gives to the workman injured through the negligence of his employer or of any superintendent, foreman or fellow servant or through the risk of his trade, a right to one-half wages from his employer during disability, up to eight years, and provides for the payment to the dependents of a workman killed while performing his work a sum equal to his wages for four years, with a maximum limit of three thousand dollars. This introduces the principle that the "risks of the trade" should be shared between the workman and the employer, and not borne by the workman alone, as under our existing employers' liability laws.

This act is the work of a special commission created last year by the legislature of New York, consisting of three senators, five assemblymen and five citizens appointed by the Governor. Commissions were also appointed in Minnesota and Wisconsin to study the subject and report on a system of compensation. These three state commissions held a joint meeting at Atlantic City in July, 1909, meeting other experts, and their reports to their respective legislatures are very instructive memorandums on the plan of compensation to employees.

Other states have dealt with the subject in a less comprehensive manner. Some acts have been of an optional character. Massachusetts last year extended her 1908 act, permitting employers and employees to contract for compensation for liability, and thus relieve the employers from their common law liability.

Montana has established a state accident insurance and a total permanent disability fund for the coal miners and employees at coal washers. The Montana act was the first legislative provision in the United States to make the payment of trade hazards in private employment a state matter. This law does not go into effect until October 1, 1910, and has not been passed upon by its courts. It has received the hearty support of organized labor in that state.

THE OBJECTIONS TO AMENDING THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACTS.

Many states have provided for amendments to the present employers' liability law, rather than substitute an entirely new plan for it, such as compensation or insurance. Legislative enactments have been urged to abrogate the doctrine of contributory negligence and the assumption of risk, as well as the fellow-servant doctrine. There are, however, objections of considerable weight to this course.

In this country we are bound by constitutional restrictions. In addition to the Federal Constitution, with its Bills of Rights, and the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteeing the freedom of contract, the equal protection of the laws, and absolute protection to property, we have a written Constitution in each state, and all of these constituents contain provisions which will affect the decisions of their respective courts. If an act were passed increasing the employers' liability, there is reason to fear that the courts of some states at least might hold such acts to be an interference with the freedom of contract, the equal protection of the laws, or even a taking of private property.

In Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Maryland acts dealing with this problem have been passed, only to be declared unconstitutional when brought to the attention of their respective courts.

THE OBJECTIONS OFFERED TO THE COMPENSATION PLAN.

The opponents of the plan of compensation urge that it is open to the possible constitutional objection that it is in violation of the right to trial by jury. They urge that while the present system causes hardship, hardship does not always mean injustice and is, moreover, not cured by removing it from one person and imposing it upon another. While they admit that the employer might, and probably would, in most cases, shift the burden to the consuming public, they question the justice of shifting it in this manner, and

point to this as an instance of the present-day tendency of the special interests to place more and more burdens upon the unorganized public.

One of the principal objects of such laws is to decrease litigation, with its attendant economic waste. While it is unquestionable that this law will eventually bring about this result, still it is inevitable that for a time there will be litigation over the interpretation of the act itself, its scope and meaning, and the construction to be placed upon the new terms which it employs. This condition naturally follows from the American system of constitutional government and the political division into co-ordinate states, each with its own system of courts and laws.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE COMPENSATION PLAN.

On the other hand, such laws have met with the approval of all classes in every country that has adopted them, after they have been in operation for a sufficient length of time to allow of their results to become apparent.

It is a mistake to suppose that any spirit of socialism underlies the demand for the compensation act, as has been declared by many opponents of the measure. It simply places upon the employer the liability of protecting the lives and the safety of his employees, and will likewise be the means of enforcing the workmen of all trades and callings to take more precautions themselves and to exercise more thoughtfulness in the performance of their duties, for injuries that are self-inflicted will debar them from the right of compensation.

The appalling number of injuries and deaths among the working classes which occur every year in the United States, and which it has been estimated exceeds in one year the number of dead and wounded during the four years of the Civil War, will be reduced to a minimum when the employer uses every possible means to insure the safety of his men, knowing that he will have to compensate them for injury.

The employer insures his buildings and his machinery, and protects his inventions and his trade marks by law, but the man who works the machines and manufactures his articles for the market, and who risks health and life by long hours of labor in over-crowded and often unsafe workshops, is not considered in the cost of production, and the money that should have been expended for his protection, or paid to him in times of sickness or injury, is placed on the profit side of the account.

The employer, by considering his workmen in the cost of production, will be prepared to meet the demands of compensation, and will spend more money in safety

devices, inspection and sanitary conditions, in order to avoid accidents and sickness, as is done in England, France and other countries, and hence suits for personal injuries should be as rare in this country as they have been for a number of years in the countries that have a compensation act or a measure of a similar character.

A vast saving in litigation will inevitably ensue, and there should grow up a mutual feeling of reciprocity between the employer and employe which seems to be sadly lacking at the present time.

PUBLIC OPINION FAVORS A CHANGE.

The subject of employers' liability, as well as that of insurance and compensation, has been a topic of ever increasing discussion. The necessity of some changes in the principles underlying the employers' liability is constantly becoming more apparent. With but few unimportant variations, the law governing the relation of master and servant today in this country is the same as that which existed in the early days of the English common law. We have seen that the common law grew up at a time when there were practically no great industries, and when the workman worked with his own tools and among his own friends.

The United States may well profit by the experience of continental countries and England. As soon as it is recognized

and established by law that human beings are raised to a level at least with other means of production, by placing the workman at a certain value to his employer, the effect will be to make the employer, especially in cases where intricate machinery is used, or where there is any extraordinary danger to health or limbs, to provide all possible safety and sanitary devices, or to pay adequately for any omission in this respect should the employe meet with mishap on this account.

The most enlightened public opinion favors the change, as it is appreciated that there is need of better treatment for the men who are the backbone of the nation. We should lead the older countries, in which the working classes have fought inch by inch for the ground they have won, until they have raised themselves from the condition of slaves and serfs to that of an honored class. Our country by providing for the health and happiness of those who guild her cities and subways, manufacture her machines and till her soil, will lay up a store for herself by securing future generations of intelligent men and women, sound in body and mind, who by their labor will make her industries known the world over.

In conclusion, the despised "proletary" has disappeared forever, and no one today need be ashamed of being a laborer.

TRIAL BY JUDGE AND JURY.

BY HON. HENRY CLAY CALDWELL,

Former United States Circuit Judge, Presiding Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

(Continued from last month.)

It is undeniable that there are powerful influences at work to undermine the constitutional right of trial by jury through the use of the injunction, and in other ways. It is alleged that the injunction is a speedier and more vigorous and effective method of dealing with those charged with the commission of crime, or suspected of the intention of committing it, than by the customary and constitutional method of accusation, arrest, examination, indictment, and trial by jury. Some persons without serious thought of the consequences yield their assent to this dangerous reasoning. If these are sufficient reasons for disregarding the Constitution, it is not perceived why they are not sufficient to justify the complete adoption of the methods of east-

ern princes, and dispense with the formality of even a trial for contempt. The difference is one of degree only.

There are but two constitutional modes of trying citizens for offenses; one by military courts "in cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger," and the other trial by jury.

The Constitution nowhere invests judges with the power either to define or punish offenses. They are to assist the jury in the enforcement of the laws made by the legislature, and not themselves to make and execute laws.

The extremely erroneous notion prevails in some quarters that the President of the United States is powerless to execute his high office and discharge one of his most important executive functions,

except by permission of the Federal chancellor and through the medium of a writ of injunction.

It is assumed that when the laws of the republic are set at defiance by a force too powerful to be overcome by the usual and appropriate civil agencies, the President of the United States, who is charged with the duty of preserving the peace of the United States and enforcing its laws, can not use any portion of the army of which he is commander-in-chief for that purpose without first obtaining the consent of and being summoned to the duty by a Federal chancellor.

The Constitution reads: "The President shall be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States;" it is proposed to qualify this comprehensive provision and make it read: "The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, subject to the discretion, direction, and commands of a United States Judge, and a writ of injunction." In answer to this contention, it is only necessary to observe that whenever the United States mail or interstate commerce, or any other Federal right or agency is obstructed by a force too powerful to be dealt with by the ordinary processes of law, the President has the power, and it is his duty without applying to or waiting for the command of any judge, to overcome and remove such obstruction, and to that end use so much of the army under his command as may be found necessary for the purpose; and to arrest the offenders against the law and turn them over to the civil authorities to be tried for their crimes is the mode provided by the Constitution, and not to turn them over to a judge to be tried for a contempt of court. But if in such case it is necessary for the President to be buttressed by some sort of judicial writ or order before he can exercise the functions of his high office, it is not to be done by a writ of injunction, but by a warrant for the arrest of the guilty parties, and when they are arrested, by the army, or by the marshal with the assistance of the army, they should be turned over to the proper magistrate and proceeded against in accordance with the Constitution and established mode of proceeding against persons charged with crime, and which ends in a trial by a jury.

This is the practice which has been observed by the chief magistrates of all the states for a hundred years, and the only difference between the powers and the duties of the Governor of a state and the President in this regard is that one is charged with the duty of preserving the peace and enforcing the laws of the state, and the other is charged with the duty of preserving the peace and enforcing the laws of the United States.

It is a curious and significant fact,

that the reasons given for conferring on Federal judges the police powers of the state and denying to accused persons the right of trial by jury, are precisely those given for the establishment of the Court of Star Chamber. Summed up in a few words, the reason for its creation as expressed in the preamble of the act of Parliament was to secure the certain and speedy punishment of all persons who in the opinion of the court, deserved punishment, and to this end the court was invested with a large measure of the jurisdiction and discretion exercised by Federal chancellors in our day, and a trial by jury denied. Learned, able and honest judges sat in that court, but never a jury. History records the result. Its methods grew to be as cruel and pitiless as those of the inquisition itself; it would have put an end to the liberties of the English people if it had not been abolished. "Had there been no Star Chamber," says a distinguished writer, "there would have been no rebellion against Charles I." The lesson taught by the history of the Star Chamber is that the rights and liberties of the people will not long survive in any country where the administration of the law is committed exclusively to a caste endowed with boundless discretion and a long term of office, no matter how learned, able and honest its members may be.

Every student of history knows that most of the sufferings and oppressions which mankind had had to endure were the work of honest and able, but misguided or ambitious men. Honesty and ability do not exempt from error, and when coupled with error they become dangerous gifts. After all, the human skull is but the temple of human errors, and judicial clay, if you analyze it well, will be found to be like all other human clay. The rule is without exception that whenever the exclusive power of making or administering the law is committed for any extended period to a single man or a few men—to a caste—the progressive restriction of the liberty of the people follows. The bond of sympathy between them and the people grows steadily weaker until the rights of the people are forgotten and the protection and interest of caste and classes become their chief concern.

Criticising the "encroaching jurisdiction" of the judges in England, by which it was said juries would "become a dead letter in the Constitution," Mr. Burke said: "After the Star Chamber was abolished in the 10th of Charles I, its authority, indeed, ceased, but its maxims subsisted and survived it. The spirit of the Star Chamber has transmigrated, and lives again." Let us indulge the hope that the transmigration has not been to this country, and that its spirit may never obtain a foothold here.

Jury and injunction are terms which cancel each other.

In proportion as the injunction is expanded, the right of trial by jury is restricted. And this result is not a mere incident to the use of the writ; in many cases its real purpose is to deprive a party of the right of trial by jury.

Armed with this powerful writ which has no defined boundaries or limitations, and which may be used at discretion, the power of the Federal chancellor may be fairly characterized as imperial.

But no apprehension need be felt that permanent harm will come to the republic from the exercise of imperial powers by the judiciary. This is a government "of the people, by the people, for the people," and this whole subject is in their hands. The courts of the United States—except the Supreme Court of the United States in the few cases enumerated in the Constitution—can exercise no jurisdiction whatever, except in pursuance of an act of Congress conferring it. They are the creatures of the people who, through their representatives in Congress, may confer upon them just such jurisdiction—up to the constitutional limit of the grant of judicial power—as they see proper, and may withdraw all or any part of that jurisdiction at their pleasure.

The people are always singularly patient of abuses in the administration of the law. This is due to their confidence and respect for the judicial office. But when that confidence is shaken by abuses open and obvious to their comprehension, they will put an end to them by the exercise of their own true imperial, sovereign power. The Duke of Wellington was waited upon by a delegation of citizens and told that there was danger of a revolution unless a certain public grievance was corrected, replying to this threat of revolution, the Iron Duke said: "There will never be a revolution in England except through an act of Parliament."

Happily for this republic, its Constitution of government is such that the only revolution essential to correct abuses and preserve the liberties of the people is an act of Congress.

We pass from the right of trial by jury to its utility and value. Its immense superiority to any other mode of trial in criminal cases is indisputable. The criminal law is crude and arbitrary. The discrimination essential to distinguish between crimes dangerous to society and those not so can not always be formulated into a written rule. Human intelligence and foresight are not equal to the task of conceiving, and the English language is not adequate to express the nice distinctions and varying qualities in human actions. They depend upon the environments, age, temperament, education, motive, and many other things

which can be applied to the particular case by a jury only.

The law takes no note of moral justification, but only legal. It remains so for two reasons—one if the difficulty already mentioned of defining with precision the cases for the application of the principle of moral justification or retributive justice; and the other is the knowledge that the jury, owing to their peculiar constitution and representative character, have power to and will supply this defect. A jury will convict the assassin, but not the girl who kills her seducer; they will convict the man who murders for money, but not the man who kills the invader of his home; and when a hundred good men, overcome with virtuous indignation by the atrocious crime of some savage brute, do execution upon him without the forms of law, the jury will not hang the hundred good men for accelerating the outlaw's punishment. Cases arise in which to inflict the penalty of the law would be more dangerous to social order than to overlook the offense. Immunity to murders generally would soon dissolve the bonds of society; but juries instinctively feel that the social bond is not weakened but rather strengthened by the death of a seducer at the hands of his victim. The seducer knows that punishment from such a source can not be delayed or evaded by the quibbles and technicalities of the law. In such cases the verdict represents the sense of justice of the people, and "the immense justice of the people is almost as impersonal as the justice of God." Representing as it does the immense justice of the people, the jury can not be replaced by an individuality. Uninfluenced by circumstances of moral justification or retributive justice, and heeding nothing but the text of the law, the judge would be constrained to visit with the same penalty the assassin and the girl who slays her seducer, the man who murdered for money, and the man who killed the invader of his home, the savage brute who slew the victim of his lust, and the hundred good citizens who retired him from circulation.

The judge would have to do this, for he does not represent and can not appeal to the immense justice of the people to justify him for departing from the text of the law. He could not avail himself of that elastic and equitable principle which juries can apply to the administration of criminal justice and without which no written criminal code could long survive.

By constitutional provision in most, if not all, of the states the jury is made the judge of the law as well as the facts in libel cases, and in some of the states they are the judges of the law in all criminal cases. Such is the law in the State of Pennsylvania. In *Kane vs. Common-*

wealth, decided in 1879, Chief Justice Sharswood, in delivering the opinion of the court, said:

"The power of the jury to judge of the law in a criminal case is one of the most valuable securities guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Judges may still be partial and oppressive, as well from political as personal prejudices, and when a jury are satisfied of such prejudice, it is not only their right, but their duty to interpose the shield of their protection to the accused. It is as important in a Republican as any other form of government, that, to use the language of the Constitution of 1776, 'in all prosecutions for criminal offenses' a man should have a right 'to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of the country, without the unanimous consent of which jury he can not be found guilty.'"

Here is a solemn judicial determination that judges may be "partial and oppressive as well from political as from personal prejudice, and when a jury are satisfied of such prejudice it is not only their right, but their duty to interpose the shield of their protection to the accused." It will be observed that in that State the jury sits in judgment on the judge as well as the prisoner, and no complaint is made that criminal justice is not as well administered in that State as in any other.

The Pennsylvania rule prevailed in some of the United States courts at one time. Mr. Justice Baldwin, of the Supreme Court of the United States, presided at the trial of Wilson for a capital offense, and said to the jury:

"We have thus stated to you the law of this case under the solemn duties and obligations imposed on us, under the clear conviction that in doing so we have presented to you the true test by which you will apply the evidence to the case; but you will distinctly understand that you are the judges both of the law and fact in a criminal case, and are not bound by the opinion of the court; you may judge for yourselves, and if you should feel it your duty to differ from us, you must find your verdict accordingly. * * * If you are prepared to say that the law is different from what you have heard from us, you are in the exercise of a constitutional right to do so."

The Constitution confers upon the Supreme Court of the United States original jurisdiction in certain enumerated cases, and a provision of the judiciary act of 1789, now Section 689 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, provided that "the trial of issues of fact in the Supreme Court in all actions at law against citizens of the United States, shall be by jury." The first jury trial in that august tribunal was the case of the State of Georgia vs. Brailsford. The Chief Justice and all of the justices were on the bench, and Chief Justice Jay, as

the organ of the court in charging the jury, said:

"It may not be amiss here, gentlemen, to remind you of the good old rule, that on questions of fact it is the province of the jury, on questions of law, it is the province of the court to decide. But it must be observed that by the same law which recognizes this reasonable distribution of jurisdiction, you have nevertheless a right to take upon yourselves to judge of both, and to determine the law as well as the fact in controversy. In this, and on every other occasion, however, we have no doubt you will pay that respect which is due to the opinion of the court; as on the one hand it is presumed that juries are the best judges of facts, it is, on the other hand, presumable that the courts are the best judges of law. But still both objects are lawfully within your power of decision."

It is sometimes asserted that the juries are responsible for the miscarriage of justice which occasionally takes place in criminal cases. As a rule the responsibility for such miscarriage will be found on the bench and not in the jury box. Observation teaches us, and the law reports prove, that ten guilty men escape through the errors and mistakes and technical quibbles of the courts for one who escapes through an error of the jury. One of England's best and ablest judges, Lord Chief Justice Denman, said:

"It is a grateful task to bear testimony to the excellent conduct of juries at the Old Bailey sessions. I don't remember a single conviction that appeared to be unjust. Some acquittals have startled me; but often very good reasons, which had not occurred to me at the trial, have been suggested afterwards and I have often thought that their mistakes might be traced to their feeling too much deference for certain vulgar scraps of judicial phraseology which have come to be considered as principles of law."

Who is responsible for these "vulgar scraps of judicial phraseology," that do sometimes mislead and frighten a jury into an erroneous verdict?

The superiority of the jury as judges of facts is as marked in civil as it is in criminal cases.

This superiority results, in a great part, from the inherent difference between fixed and casual tribunals. A fixed tribunal is one where the office is permanent and where the person or persons who exercise its functions do so for long terms or periods, and each officer in turn is guided by the precedents established by his predecessors. A casual tribunal is one summoned from the body of the people for the occasion, or for a very brief term of service, and who consequently bring to the discharge of their duties a freshness and earnestness un-

known to fixed tribunals, and who decide the controversy submitted to them upon its merits, unembarrassed by precedents. The judge represents the fixed and the jury the casual tribunal. A jury trial is impersonal; it gives expression to the sense of justice of the people, which is the nearest approach to absolute justice attainable in earthly tribunals.

The twelve men summoned from the body of the people represent in their several persons, different pursuits and occupations in life. Their prejudices, if they have any, resulting from their varied pursuits and environments, counteract each other; but the single judge, having no counterpoise, his bias and prejudice find full and unrestrained expression in his judgments. He is, besides, constantly struggling to force his decision into the groove of precedent, and to that end keeps on pursuing precedent and analogies and refining and refining until he grows "wild with logic and metaphysics," and loses sight of the facts and merits of the case in hand. Juries performing casual service only, can never acquire the bad habit of fixed tribunals of deciding mechanically upon some supposed precedent.

Moreover, the consequences of an erroneous verdict by a jury are immeasurably less than an erroneous verdict by the judge; for one jury is not bound by the error of a former jury, but the law of precedent will compel the judge to adhere to his error, for it is a rule of fixed tribunals that consistency in error is to be preferred to a right decision.

Lord Brougham, who possessed that noble characteristic of the profession, the courage to defend the defenseless against the strong—even a friendless woman against a powerful king—recognized the great superiority of the people as judges of the facts, and after long experience in courts of law and equity, and on the bench as well, declared that trial by jury "should be applied to those cases from which the practice in equity has excluded it; and that improvement would be best effected by drawing to it the cases which the courts of equity have taken from the common law, and which they constantly evince their incapacity to deal with by sending issues to be tried whenever any difficulty occurs."

It is said juries are inferior to the judge in point of learning and ability. In the affairs of life much that is called learning is of little utility.

"How small a matter," says Dr. Holmes, "literature is to the great seething, toiling, struggling, love-making, bread-winning, child-rearing, death-awaiting men and women who fill this huge, palpitating world of ours."

Men may be oracles in the arts and sciences, and infants in the affairs of life.

This truth is beautifully expressed by Milton:

"But to know

That which before us lies in daily life
Is the prime wisdom."

Job says: "Great men are not always wise," and there is nothing truer in the Book. It is out of the question that one man whose whole existence is devoted to one occupation, can know as much about men and affairs—and that is the kind of knowledge that is wanted in the settlement of controversies among men—as twelve men of affairs engaged in varied pursuits and occupations. Judges, as judge of the facts, have all the faults, but not all the virtues of juries. Lord Hobhouse in an address showing the necessity for jury trials, said:

"It seems to me that juries have kept our laws sweet; they have kept them practical; they still do so; they are like the constant, unseen, unfelt force of gravitation which enables us to walk on the face of the earth instead of flying off into space. Certainly nothing can be more important to the welfare and coherence and strength of the nation than that its laws should be in general harmony with its convictions and feelings. * * * Juries are passing every day innumerable decisions, each of them very small, but constant, ubiquitous, and tending to carry superfine laws down into practical life so as to make them fit for human nature's daily food."

The idea here expressed by the learned lord is conveyed in the homely old maxim of the farmer, that when the fodder in the rack hangs too high for the cattle, the fodder must come down or the cattle will starve. The tendency of judges in the absence of juries would be to hang the fodder in the rack too high for the cattle.

But it is said juries are prejudiced, especially in particular sorts of cases, such as suits for personal injuries; and on policies of insurance, and other like cases.

When you impeach the impartiality and integrity of the jury you impeach the impartiality and integrity of the whole body of the people from whom they are drawn, and of which they are a representative part. Our idea of the prejudices of men is gauged by our own prejudices. The difference between a prejudiced man and an enlightened and impartial one is the difference between the man who opposes our views and the man who agrees with our views. It is the old aphorism on orthodoxy and heterodoxy over again. It is always implied in this charge against the jury that there is a tribunal that is free from bias, passion, or prejudice, and that tribunal is found in the judge.

Did it ever occur to those who make this charge against the jury that they

might have a beam in their own eye, and that if juries are prejudiced in favor of the plaintiffs in the class of cases mentioned, it is just possible that the judge might have a little bias in favor of the other side? But it is assumed that judges never fetter their impartiality by entertaining an opinion on any subject—that they love nothing, hate nothing, feel nothing, see nothing, and know nothing—in a word, that they are animated icicles.

But they are human, and the only thing human that is permanent and unchangeable is human nature. Beyond all question as a rule, the prejudices of a particular class or caste are altogether stronger than the prejudices of the whole body of citizens whom the jury represents. Transferring the functions of the jury to the judge would only be to exchange one class of prejudices for another.

But in the trial by judge and jury they exert on each other a mutual and very salutary control, besides imparting an immense moral weight to their joint action.

It is said jury trials protract litigation, but the errors that lead to new trials, and appeals and writs of error and the reversals of judgments and protraction of litigation are the errors of the judges. Look into the reports and you will find that in the trial of commonplace cases the trial court is charged with the commission of from five to fifty errors of law, and frequently convicted on some of the charges. And the errors of judges are not limited to the courts of original jurisdiction. The appellate courts themselves are constantly falling into error. If one is curious to know the extent of these errors, let him consult Bigelow's *Overruled Cases*, where he will find that the appellate courts as far back as 1873 had overruled nearly 10,000 of their own decisions. How many they have overruled since that time is not known. These are their confessed errors only; there still remain, we know not how many errors not yet confessed, for judges are like all great sinners—never confess their errors until *in extremis*—and not then with that openness, fullness, and frankness supposed to be essential to insure spiritual salvation to a sinner.

In a volume of the reports of the Supreme Court of Nebraska is an official list of 111 cases previously decided by that court which have been overruled by the same court.

On one great line of questions the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States have for some time swung back and forth with the regularity of a pendulum, so much so that a distinguished lawyer recently remarked that when he had one of that line of cases he felt sure

of winning it if the last case decided by the court was against him.

And yet in the light of these facts there are those who affect to regard a court as a fetish and assert that the opinions of judges are exempt from criticism, and that they are not amenable in any degree to an enlightened public opinion strong and forcible enough to compel attention, even from an absolute monarch. Judges are not popes and their decrees are not infallible.

They are as prone to err as other men and no more infallible. The notion that a wrong judicial decision forecloses further discussion and perpetuates the wrong forever is altogether erroneous. That would simply be to change the maxim, "the king can do no wrong," to "judges can do no wrong;" and to exchange the despotic rule of a king for the despotic rule of judges. Judge Hoar, United States Senator from Massachusetts, in an address before the Virginia Bar Association at Old Point Comfort, July 7, 1898, answered the contention that the wrong of a court of last resort is irretrievable and irreversible in the following eloquent and convincing language:

"Experience has shown that the errors of judicial decisions require no revolution or disorder or violence for their remedy. The experience of England and of this country, alike, demonstrates that there is nothing over which a sound and healthful public sentiment makes a peaceful way more surely than over a judicial decision which is unjust or wrong, or in restraint of liberty or in favor of rank against the people or the rich against the poor. The court soon finds a way out of it. It gets limited and trimmed. Its corners get cut. The vigor and vitality are constructed out of it. It is founded upon the sand. Settled, permanent, deliberate public opinion, sometimes taking generations, sometimes centuries, to grow and ripen, prevails in the end alike over the edict of the monarch, the decree of the infallible church, the judgment of the court and the anger of the mob."

Having shown the complaints against the jury to be groundless, the well-founded complaints of the jury against the judges and against some of the provisions of the law for their government will be briefly considered. Juries who return verdicts upon their oaths and consciences contrary to the judge's view of the facts of the case are sometimes publicly arraigned and impeached and summarily dismissed from their office. Now, this kind of procedure was fought out and settled against any such invasion of the jury's rights a good while ago in that country, from which we inherit the right of trial by jury. Compare such treatment of the jury with the deference shown to the jury by the Supreme Court of the United States in its

charge in the case of Georgia vs. Brailsford, which is elsewhere quoted. The Supreme Court of the United States had a just appreciation of the dignity, honor, responsibility, and rights that attach to juries. The juries, equally with the judge on the bench, are judges, and as supreme and independent in the exercise of their jurisdiction as he is in his. The errors of both may be corrected in the orderly mode provided by law, and both may be impeached and removed from office for corruption, but neither has a right to summarily impeach or remove the other from office for a supposed error in discharging his or their duty. Let the case be reversed: Suppose whenever the judge errs in deciding the law, he was summarily ordered to step down off the bench. What would be the result? Not one single judge's bench would be occupied next Monday. * * *

Judges make hundreds of mistakes in deciding the law where the jury makes one in deciding the facts, and when juries do err, it is commonly owing to the mistake of the judge in instructing them erroneously or inconsistently on the law. A jury after receiving a two-sided charge from the judge were unable to agree, and when they were discharged the judge asked them how they stood, to

which their foreman replied: "Just like your Honor's charge, six to six." When the judges learn to decide the law with as much accuracy and fidelity as juries do the facts, it will be time enough for them to indulge in censorious criticism of the jury for their supposed mistakes. Such action is not only a gross invasion of the rights of the jury, but it is an invasion of the constitutional rights of the suitor who is entitled to have a jury in the box who will not be influenced in any degree in the honest and independent exercise of their own opinion by fear of censure, or the hope of applause from the judge. The free, independent mind has one opinion, and the trammelled, dependent mind another opinion; and the free, independent mind is what every suitor is entitled to have in the jury box. * * *

To conclude: For a free people, "trial by judge and jury" is immensely superior to any other mode of trial that the writ of man has ever yet devised, or is capable of devising; and evil will be the hour for the people of this country when, seduced by any theory however plausible, or deluded by any consideration of fancied emergency or expediency, they supinely acquiesce in its invasion or consent to its abolition.—American Federationist.

FALL IN LINE, MEN OF ACTION!

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS.

It is an indisputable fact that, on the whole, the state of labor organization in this country at the present time is far better than even its friends would have ventured to prophesy immediately after the panic of October, 1907. By the press and the public in general, and even by many well wishers of trade unionism, the assumption was then made that for a period, to be determined by the duration of the ensuing industrial depression, labor was doomed to disheartening losses through disorganization, lowered wages, and long continued unemployment.

It is true, months of idleness came to many men in certain callings, but, whatever the causes of the crisis and whether or not it was mostly a financiers' panic only, the country has now entirely recovered from its injurious effects.

But neither of the other two results feared for labor was realized to any serious extent. The local unions that were disbanded were so few in number that the average fluctuation in the total Union forces year by year was only slightly exceeded. Not one national or international union passed out of existence.

As for wages, declaration was made by the American Federation of Labor, at once

upon the occurrence of the panic, that every possible effort would be made to oppose any attempt by employers to make the wage-earners bear the cost of the depression through a reduction of their wages. This attitude of the trade unions gave pause even to the leaders of finance and great industrial enterprises. They were convinced that if they set out to cut down wage rates they would bring upon themselves serious industrial contests, in addition to the other difficulties they were facing. In the case of the railroads in particular, the managers admitted publicly that they could not attempt to lower their wage schedules.

In all its phases the policy of the American Federation of Labor in the respect just mentioned was justified by the outcome. The country has recovered from its financial set-back and the great body of the wage-earners are today in position to work for advances in their movement onward from the stage they had previously gained, instead of fighting to recover lost ground, as would have been the case had they been obliged to accept reductions in wages and extensions of the workday.

A small percentage of the trade union forces lost ground; organization that had

been undertaken in some directions was retarded. Recognizing these facts as true, we are enabled at the present time to look ahead and say that the prospect is most encouraging for a general advance in organization. But no outside providential force is destined to perform this work. We ourselves must carry it out.

To work, then! Let every trade union in the American Federation of Labor, every international, national and local organization make an extraordinary effort this year to absorb in its ranks all the workers of its occupation. Let our movement to this end be concerted, co-operative and enthusiastic.

We urgently request the officers of every affiliated trade union to issue a special circular to their members, informing them of the fact that all the organizations of the country have begun a strong pull, a long pull and a pull together for the purpose of developing our labor movement, speedily, in all parts of the country, in every calling. The local unions in the various communities are invited to redouble their efforts this year in organizing all the wage workers within their possible reach, irrespective of craft. Individual members of trade unions are asked to endeavor on all possible occasions to advance the cause of trade unionism, especially inducing the unorganized men they meet to join the union that is open to them. If each member of the union would take upon himself the obligation to bring one man into the fold of unionism, the result would be an enormous impulse in the desired direction.

Every union in the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor is also urged to appoint a label committee, whose duty shall be to advocate the purchase of union made products and to wait upon merchants and request them to have on sale the products of union labor, bearing wherever practicable union labels.

The trade union is a necessity to the modern wage worker. By its means only can he protect himself against the aggressiveness of hostile employers and secure rates of wages and conditions of employment commensurate with the constantly growing demands of civilization.

The wage workers have no other resource for common defensive purposes than the trade union.

It is now generally admitted by all educated and really honest men that a thorough organization of the entire working class, to render employment and the means of subsistence less precarious, and to protect and promote the rights and liberties of the workers, by securing an equitable share of the fruits of their toil, is the most vital necessity of the present day.

In the work of the organization of labor, the wisest, most energetic, and devoted of us, when working individually,

cannot hope to be successful, but by combining our efforts all may succeed.

At no time in the history of the labor movement has the necessity for the organization of all wage earners and the federation of their organization been so great as at the present time.

No particular trade can long maintain wages much above the common level and no particular locality can sustain wages for any length of time above the wage of another locality.

To maintain high wages and a normal work day, all trades and callings must be organized and federated locally as well as continentally.

The lack of organization among the unskilled vitally affects the organized skilled. The general organization of skilled and unskilled can only be accomplished by united action.

It is the duty, as it is also the plain interest of all working people to organize as such, meet in council, and take practical steps to effect the unity of the working class, as an indispensable preliminary to any successful attempt to eliminate the evils of which we, as a class, so bitterly and justly complain.

All wage workers should be union men. Their progress is limited only by those who hold aloof. Get together, agitate, educate, and do!

Don't wait until tomorrow; tomorrow never comes.

Don't wait for some one else to start; start it yourself.

Don't hearken to the indifferent; wake them up.

Don't think it impossible; 3,000,000 organized workers prove different.

It is true that single trade unions have at times been beaten in pitched battles against superior forces of united capital, but such defeats are by no means disastrous. On the contrary, they are sometimes useful in calling the attention of the workers to the necessity of thorough organization and federation of the inevitable obligation of bringing the yet unorganized workers into the union, of uniting the hitherto disconnected local unions into national and international unions, and of effecting a yet higher unity by the affiliation of all national and international unions in one grand federation.

All of this leads to the recognition of the urgent need of extraordinary effort now by every international organization, and by every State Federation, Central Labor Union, and local trade union, through the appointment of special organization committees, or by other means which may be deemed most advisable to build up unions and more closely unite the labor movement of every locality.

Let every union member constitute himself a committee of one to bring, at least, one wage earner into the union.

Organize! Unite! Federate!—American Federationist.

EDITORIAL.

PETER W. COLLINS.

THE SECEDER'S DE(BOB)TAILED REPORT.

An old axiom is that *figures don't lie*, and we believe it's true.

Our recent experience with the seceders convinces us that it is equally true that LIARS DO FIGURE.

A recent statement sent out by Murphy claims they have initiated in the entire Brotherhood 5048 members in seventeen months, if you please, and he proceeds to insult the intelligence of our members by calling it a *detailed* report.

The intelligent members will term it the *Bob tailed Report*, as it gives nothing.

But the members (*supposed to be*) taken in by them shows nothing whatever, not even the actual increase in membership, as there is no report of members lost. Is it possible that there has been no loss in seventeen months? No! Well, well, what a nice healthy bunch, not even one to die in a year and a half, and none to go in arrears?

"Ureka," the Millennium has been reached.

Yea, verily liars do figure.

Murphy, by his figures, tells you that in the entire space of seventeen months such Locals as 61, 82, 103, 124, 151, 135, 310, 477, 506, 527, 578 and 600, *did not take in even one member*. Great record for those Locals. *But who will believe it?*

He just put them in to lengthen his fake list. Those Locals are all in good standing in the international office of which P. W. Collins is Secretary.

He also publishes in his Bobtailed Report Locals Nos. 20, 5, 68, 98, 215, 241, 259, 325, 340, 377, 430, 452, 481, 643, 644, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, all of which are in good standing in this office, with the exception of 650, whose charter was revoked for cause. They were good enough to allow a few members to each of those.

This is a sample of the (miss) information handed out by this disrupter of unions.

Further comment is unnecessary, as this is sufficient to show the desperate straights those traitors to unionism find themselves in.

They do not intend the membership to know the truth about anything. It is no wonder that the thinking element has about decided that they will have nothing further to do with this brand of persons.

Take the lies out of the Bobtailed report and see how much of the 5048 is bona fide gain for them. The statement is purely an attempt to hoodwink their fellows.

If every initiation meant a permanent gain of one over the former number of members, there would be over one hundred thousand members now in the Brotherhood. Taking a like period from January 1, 1909, to June, 1910, our books show our initiations:

1909.		1910.	
January	187	January	364
February	262	February	450
March	413	March	660
April	253	April	684
May	322	May	613
June	323	To June 21.....	337
July	312		
August	414	Total.....	7250
September	255		
October	297		
November	540		
December.	564		

And those are the figures that will go to the auditors and be answered for at the net convention. Still we do not pretend to tell the membership that we have 7250 more members now than we had Jan. 1, 1909, as there is always some loss. But our gain has been substantial, as next report will show. Neither do we say that this is above the average of initiation before the attempt to wreck the Brotherhood. But the steady gain shows the gradual return of the health of the organization and the possibilities in store for the organization once the cancer (Secession) that grew on it is removed.

Again we find the courts in Illinois taking a slap at union labor. The judge in Chicago who decided that men had no right to refuse to work with any man because of the fact that he had no card, went farther than he thought at that time. It was, of course, in the interests of the employers to have such a decision rendered, and in the light of passing events it appears that since the courts are finding such good cause for investigating the various legislators there might be some interesting developments if the legislators (those at liberty) would create some inquisitorial body whose sole duty it would be to investigate the courts.

Every union man and his neighbor should show his disgust at such a decision and make known just how much an honest man can despise any court who presumes to take his liberty away from him, denying him the right to say he will not work with any one man, or set of men, and denying any and all union men the right to say that they will not work with scabs.

If this sort of law is to stand, the next step will probably be to imprison for life any union man that refuses to go to work for any scab employer that may need a man and who may ask him to go to work.

Would it not be reasonable to suppose that any employer has just as much right to sue a man for the loss of profit on the work that would be done if the skilled workman would consent to work for the scab employer, and which, may it please the court, is a total and irreparable loss to the employer and with malice afore—and after—thought did refuse to work for

said employer, thereby conspiring with himself and others to deprive the employer of the profits he could have made off his (the workman's) labor?

We ask the honorable (?) court to convict this breaker of the law who holds no political office and therefore is not entitled to break any laws, as he makes none of them.

And we further cite, for the guidance of the court, that he has not even any remote connection with the honorable body now known as the Bath-Room Boys, which is more evidence that he is not entitled to break the laws with impunity. Why, your Honor, he does not even say that he or his co-conspirators read the Bible regularly, so there is no congressional excuse for him, and we ask the honorable court to take from him (by force, if necessary) any and all things that the defendant, his heirs or assigns, may now own, or be found hereafter to own, or property his fellow (conspirators) unionists may be found to own, in order that the employer for whom he refused to work may be reimbursed for any and all loss by reason of the refusal of the defendant to render his skilled and valuable service.

Following to its logical conclusion the present action of the court in Cook Cuntty that found against the street car men for refusing to work with non-union men, the court would no doubt grant the relief prayed for by the employer in the foregoing possible case.

Union men of all states should protest against this gross infringement on their rights and privileges, and the wave of protest should be so big and strong that no court on earth would dare to disregard it.

The case is now before the Supreme Court of Illinois and protests from the various organizations are pouring in.

We hope to make the courts pay more attention hereafter to the men who strive to make conditions better for all men who toil, and one scab shall not be able to pull down the work of years of the wage and condition raising *unionists*.

Some confusion has been manifested regarding Article 15 of the Constitution regarding Transfer Cards.

This Transfer Card was devised for the purpose of filling a long felt want.

To provide a means by which a man could maintain his standing in the Brotherhood and receive the benefit of Traveling Card privileges, even though he had retired from the trade for a certain period, or had taken a position that forced him to withdraw from the Local of which he was a member.

The Withdrawal Card will be issued as formerly and the Transfer Card given the member.

The Transfer Card is only for deposit in the General Office, and does not take the place of a Traveling Card.

The member deposits the Transfer Card in General Office and remains a member of the I. B. by the payment of per capita tax and International assessments, but is not entitled to benetfis from, or admission to, any Local Union while out on Withdrawal Card.

On his return to the trade he must deposit his withdrawal card in the Local that issued it, and in case he has changed locations, receives Traveling Card from his former Local Union.

In issuing Transfer Card the Local Union Secretary should fill out the entire back of card, sign same and place the seal of Local thereon, and can forward it to General Office if requested by the member, with per capita tax for three or six months, or year, accompanying it. In case the member pays per capita tax for January or July to Secretary, the semi-annual assessment of 50 cents should also be sent in at the same time, as no per capita tax will be received for August until the July assessment is paid, and no per capita credits given for February if January assessment is not paid.

In cases where members taking W. C. pay for one year, a total of \$4.60 should accompany Transfer Card, viz.: Twelve months' per capita, \$3.60; two semi-annual assessments at 50 cents each, \$1.00; total, \$4.60.

Where member has paid advance per capita tax and deposits his card before expiration of time paid for in General Office, he pays his dues to Local Union, less the per capita tax.

We advise that members pay six months per capita tax when taking Withdrawal Card. But of course that is entirely at the option of the member taking Withdrawal Card.

The Seceders tried to get our Locals to petition to General Office for a referendum for another special convention that they knew would bring no other result than added confusion, but very few of our Locals rose to the bait.

Again they try by having two of our Locals (that they convinced in some manner that it was for the interest of all to have one called) circulate a petition amongst our Locals asking Mr. Frey to arbitrarily order a convention to be held.

They know that Mr. Frey is too brainy a man to place himself in this position, but they did hope to use the Locals that might be induced to sign and forward the letters in order to gain more time.

While the letters have the name of the Secretary of 266 printed on them, and are supposed to be a voluntary action coming from Locals 266 and 124, it is significant that they were printed in St. Louis, and the return on envelope is the hand writing of the chief lieutenant of the Secessionists at that place—Meyers.

This rather flimsy attempt is just some more of their squirming to keep from answering for their acts. Anything to prevent a decision from being rendered that will prevent any further tools of theirs from again tying up the Brotherhood in the same manner as did Gieb in August, 1908.

Nearly two years of law and lawyers on account of that suit is enough for any one organization. A decision will settle the matter once for all, and it will be reached in the near future. Then, and only then, will the members find out who is wrong, and better still, be free from any further juggling of the Brotherhood's affairs in court.

The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, by the resolution they adopted, go on record as favoring an early trial of the Cleveland suits. Another instance where the course pursued by the officers of the I. B. E. W. is approved, as the only sure method of arriving at a conclusion that will hasten the end of the Electrical Workers internal troubles.

Local Union No. 481, of Indianapolis, concluded last December that the secession ranks was no place for a self-respecting Local Union that was hoping for results, and willing to make a fight to obtain them. As a consequence, the Local was reinstated in the legitimate and recognized organization. Since that time, the Local has, after as lively a fight as could be put up by any body of men, obtained the conditions for which it has been striving for the past five years. Think of it—the home of David M. Parry, the headquarters of the Manufacturers' Association, as well as the headquarters of the National Electrical Contractors' Association—becoming a *closed shop*. Every contractor of consequence signed up, the membership more than doubled, and now setting in for the period of peace and prosperity that their heroic efforts and good judgment so richly deserves. *Harmony and effort bring results.*

The vacillating policy pursued by the secession leaders for a year and a half was enough to inspire any body of men with a full-grown doubt as to the *good faith* in their action in crying for a dismissal at this late day. They promised at the Denver convention of the A. F. of L., November, 1908, to dismiss them. After the convention, they *would not dismiss*. At the Toronto convention, November, 1909, they again promised *to dismiss* the suits. Again they *would not*. They promised the committee in December, 1909, *to dismiss*. At the committee meeting in March, 1910, they *could not*, according to their statements, and the statements of their lawyers. *But in May, 1910, they could and would* do it, in twenty minutes. What wonderful changes! All because they feared a determination of the suits that persistent effort had forced to the court room, in spite of all their efforts to again delay them. Manifestly *good faith in said procedure, or any similar procedure, is in doubt.*

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in session June 29, again took up the Electrical Workers' controversy in its present state, and their decision shows that the course pursued by the officers of the I. B. E. W. was justified.

They agree in every essential detail with our action, and they realize that the only permanent relief from litigation that can be obtained is through a court decision determining the issues brought forth.

They state in their decision, in relation to the attempted withdrawal (?) *good faith in said procedure, or in any similar procedure, is in doubt.* They state that *similar proceedings may be instituted by any member of either side.*

This is good, hard, common sense. The suits once tried, all will have something definite to work upon and a solid foundation to work from.

A decision rendered, and it's good-bye to courts and lawyers' fees. If our esteemed contemporaries are not afraid of the results of suits they brought themselves, on their own dunghill, let them show it.

If they have been in the least sense honest with the membership, if their actions in starting a dual organization was justified, or if, as they claim, their course was legal, and if they really want to see the Brotherhood a unit again, and are willing to answer for their actions as honest men should be, let them cease trying to further disrupt the Brotherhood, abandon their policy of procrastination, and help force their own suits to an early trial, thereby making a safe and conclusive move toward the reuniting of the Brotherhood.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Wit is valuable when it is wet.

Men who say most often think least.

Honor is the tribute paid to character.

Hot air may generate noise, but not energy.

Reputation is always an asset, when it is solid.

Words are too often used to deny language its honest expression.

The good things men sometimes do is often minimized by the way they do them.

"Maxy" Hayes, Cleveland's "brainiest" man, must have a horrible grouch on. In a recent issue of his paper, he traveled from that city, to several other cities, and reviewed situations and conditions about which he is quite as well informed as a last year bird's nest. On second thought, however, there may be a reason for "Maxy's" choleric state, inasmuch as a clean-cut trades unionist came into the city "owned" by "Maxy," and is putting out a labor paper for organized labor. "Maxy," when he gets to Cincinnati, in his brain-storm journey, imagines that he is quite big enough for some men who are out-and-out trade unionists to waste some

of their time upon him. Wrong, "Maxy," so far as this department of The Chronicle is concerned; we seldom waste our time in using your name. We can find better things to masticate than dwelling upon the man who comes across with a grouch. The Cleveland Federationist looks good to organized labor, and undoubtedly those craftsmen in that city appreciate a simon-pure labor paper. Get rid of the grouch, "Maxy;" it is bad for the liver, and will, if continued in, possibly bring on sufficient bile to completely flood your brain pan, to say nothing about making your readers weary.—Cincinnati Chronicle.

HIGH DUES NECESSARY.

BY A. J. BERRER,

Secretary-Treasurer Metal Trades Department.

The success of the trade union movement depends largely upon its ability to educate its membership to the importance, yea, to the necessity, of paying a rate of dues, and a per capita tax sufficiently high to enable its executive officers to prosecute with vigor and determination the campaigns and the struggles they are from time to time called upon to wage in order that the conditions under which their membership at times are forced to labor are changed for their betterment and that of society in general. The attitude of some organizations on the question of higher dues is not easily understood when the demands they are constantly making on their Internationals are considered. It has been quite noticeable in our conventions that resolutions innumerable are offered in favor of the increase of all benefits, but little or no thought is given to the increase of the per capita tax to the International to meet the additional cost of the benefits.

If the proper financial support to our internationals is lacking, then like other organizations or institutions, its progress is impeded. The membership at large apparently forget that increased benefits suggests increased revenue to their international this order must prevail because in the first instance internationals are undoubtedly paying the benefits which experience has taught it could pay on the revenue received; this being true, it is but natural to assume that to grant any additional benefits must of necessity require higher dues to meet the increased demands on the treasury.

The question has often been asked why it is that organizations do not or are not willing to pay back into their international treasuries a larger portion of the interest they receive on their investments, for it has been long since conceded that membership in a labor organization is a business proposition pure and simple. This being true, it is but natural to suppose that if the capitalization of our organizations (like the corporation) is increased, that improvements can be made that will increase the benefits of the members and will in turn give them a greater return for the money invested. The position that the members of organized labor take towards their locals when so many benefits have come to them through it is beyond explanation. How zealous they are to be punctual in at-

tendance at the meetings of their other affiliations, ever ready to make any sacrifice to become an officer; dues, assessments, contributions, all have their charm, and none of which call forth the murmurings or objections that are so usual and pronounced in their trades organizations. Little thought is given to the fountain of organizations, little time is given to its work, and few aspire to office, but in the end it must provide that which makes it possible for us to affiliate with other organizations. It should be our first thought and our first duty to contribute liberally to its support and to attend regularly the meetings and to see to it that its affairs are properly administered, and to assist and encourage the officers we have by our votes chosen to lead and to care for our interests. Labor must be more solicitous for its own welfare, to the exclusion of all others, and must not expect to receive benefits gratis any more than they would expect to receive a consignment of goods free of charge from any one of our charitable corporations.

If it could be truthfully said that the organization of labor has not improved the standing of its members, both financially and morally, and had not made for them a better and more agreeable state of livelihood and employment, then it would be useless to argue in favor of increasing the investment, but there is not one man who has been a member of his trade union for a period of time that can honestly and truthfully say that he has not received a greater return on the money he paid into his union than he or his friends have ever received in return for an equal amount invested in any other business proposition. Why should it, therefore, be necessary to urge the men of labor to return to their organization a larger share of the profits, when the fact is conclusive that the trade unionist's greatest asset is his membership in his organization and through which his interests are best protected and his mere existence changed to a decent and comfortable living. It will provide the means whereby his children will have the opportunity to develop their bodies as well as their intellect, thereby preparing and equipping them to meet the struggles of life. Some men would, however, argue the improved conditions were simply the result of and in accordance with the natural development of things, but the man that is true to himself knows different; he knows what he was receiving in return for his labor previous to his admission into his trades union; he knows what the con-

ditions of his employment were (not roseate), and he also knows that his individual dissatisfaction with his conditions of employment was of little or no moment to the capricious employer. That he was, in a sense, shackled and left to the tender mercies of his benefactor, keeper and sympathizer. No conception of what might be obtain and what the future has in store for the membership of our organizations can be foretold if the proper financial support were given to the internationals. Reflect for a moment upon the accomplishments of our organizations—will any one dispute that the organization is not responsible for at least a twenty-five cent increase in wages per day or an increase of \$77.25 per year on an average yearly expenditure of less than \$12 per year, which is the average dues paid by the membership of the international metal trades organizations, to say nothing of other concessions which are in a measure equally as beneficial to the members. If the income of the international was doubled, it would not be unreasonable to expect that within a reasonable period of time many additional and substantial benefits would be forthcoming.

The membership are, as a rule, conscious of the great work that is being done, and are appreciative of it, but what is most necessary is to provide the munitions of war so that we can be prepared to move on short notice. It is and has

been evident to all, that the intentions and aspirations of some of our internationals have often been saddened by the lack of the necessary equipment and preparedness for battle, when a small additional amount would not only give encouragement to the entire membership, but would stay off suffering and privation during the time of troubles it would influence the employer whose heart has been too often gladdened when dissatisfaction and discontent arose among his employees over a condition of employment he desired to impose, because of his knowledge of the financial condition of their organization.

If the future policies of our organizations are to be progressive and the best results are to be obtained, an effort should be begun at once to create a uniformity of dues, per capita tax and strike benefits among the affiliated internationals of this department. The possibility of joint action in the future makes it necessary that an equal amount of revenue be received by our affiliations and that an equal amount of benefits be paid to the membership when united action has been declared.

There are many changes to be made to support this form of organization to make it effective and the first and most essential one is that those organizations now paying lower dues be increased at least to conform to those that have adopted a higher rate of dues.

TRADE UNIONISM.

Address by John Mitchell, Cathedral College, New York.

To the ordinary man of affairs, immersed in his business and daily routine of life, trade unionism may seem a bewildering maze of conflicting ideas and divergent doctrines. Such a man, unless he has a special interest in the subject, is liable to have his opinions formed from disjointed, scattering and often untrustworthy information. At one time he reads of trade unionists attempting to raise wages or reduce the hours of labor, or demanding recognition of the union, or urging a sympathetic strike, or resisting or denouncing federal injunction. At other times the trade unionist seems to be taken up with such questions as whether the foreman shall or shall not belong to the union; whether the unionist shall or shall not work with non-union men; whether a particular factory is in a sanitary condition; whether a certain machine is speeded up too much or not enough; whether the temperature of a given factory is such as to endanger the health

of the operatives; what differential should be paid for a new machine, and so on. In some instances the unionist seems to be insisting upon pay by the piece, and in other cases refusing absolutely to have anything to do with the piecework system. At one time the unionists appear to be at war with one another or with employers, and at other times they are meeting amicably in gigantic federations or legislating in conjunction with associations of employers for the conduct and management of great industries.

ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

"In the hundreds of national trade unions that exist and the thousands of local groups into which these organizations are divided, various problems are encountered and various measures taken in each exigency. The result is a perfectly bewildering series of rules and regulations in which the ordinary man sees neither rhyme nor reason, except, perhaps, that he observes in vague outline the ever-present desire on the part of the workingmen to improve their

conditions and to raise the standard of unionism, however, is merely the complexity of human life itself. No matter how simple and fundamental the principles of an organization, its rules and regulations necessarily become complex as soon as they encounter the diverse conditions that characterize modern life.

"In its fundamental principle, trade unionism is plain and clear and simple. It starts from a recognition of the fact that, under normal conditions, the individual, unorganized workman cannot bargain advantageously with his employer for the sale of his labor. Since the workingman has no money in reserve and must sell his labor immediately; since, however, he has no knowledge of the market and no skill of bargaining; because, finally, he has his own labor to sell, while the employer engages hundreds, or even thousands, of men, and can easily do without the services of any particular individual, the workingman, if bargaining on his own account and for himself alone, is at an obvious disadvantage. Trade unionism recognizes the fact that under such conditions labor becomes more and more degenerate, because the labor which the workman sells is, unlike other commodities, a thing which is of his very life and soul and being. In the individual contract between a powerful employer and a single workman, the laborer will secure the worst of the bargain. He is progressively debased because of wages insufficient to buy nourishing food, because of hours too long to permit of sufficient rest, because of conditions of work destructive of moral, mental and physical health, and finally because of danger of accident and disease, which kill off the workman or prematurely age him.

MUST STAND TOGETHER.

"The individual bargain or individual contract between employers and men means that the condition of the worst and lowest man in the industry will be that which the average man must accept. From first to last, from beginning to end, always and everywhere, trade unionism stands unalterably opposed to the individual contract. There can be no concession or yielding upon this point. No temporary betterment will permanently compensate workingmen for surrendering in any part this fundamental principle. To find a substitute for the individual bargain, which militates against the welfare and happiness of the whole working people, trade unions were formed. The fundamental reason for the existence of the trade union is, that by it and through it the workmen are enabled to deal collectively with their employers. The difference between the individual and the collective bargain is simply this—that in the indi-

vidual bargain one workman of a hundred refuses to accept a reduction in wages, and the employer retains the services of ninety and nine; whereas in the collective bargain the employees act in a body, and the employer retains or discharges all simultaneously upon the same terms. There can be no permanent prosperity to the wage-earner, no real and lasting progress, no consecutive improvement in conditions until the principle is fully and firmly established that in industrial life—especially in enterprises on a large scale—the settlement of wages, hours of labor, and all conditions of work must be made between employers and workingmen collectively and not between employers and workingmen individually.

"We it not for the influence of trade unionism, the work which women and girls are compelled to do would prove even more demoralizing. The trade union seeks to protect the women morally, physically and industrially. It demands that she shall not be employed amidst surroundings that are destructive of her moral and physical health. It demands that she shall not be employed at night work or for excessively long hours. It demands and insists that women shall receive equal pay with men for equal work. In demanding equal pay and healthful surroundings for women, the union not only protects the woman and the home, but it also protects the standard of living of all wage-earners.

AIDS THE CHILDREN.

"Even more important than the benefits conferred by trade unionism upon women workers have been its efforts in behalf of the toiling children. Since the birth of the factory system, children have been mustered by thousands into factories, and on account of their nimbleness, their docility, their powerlessness to resist oppression, and the low wages they are forced to accept, have been permitted to displace men and to ruin themselves by work unsuited to their age and strength.

"The true union movement is neither revolutionary nor destructive. Every man who becomes a member of a trade union subscribes, substantially, to the following declaration:

"We are pledged to the emancipation of our class from poverty, ignorance, and selfishness; to be respected in word and action to every woman; to be considerate of the widow and the orphan, the weak and the defenceless, and never to discriminate against a fellow-worker on account of creed, color, or nationality; to defend freedom of thought, whether expressed by tongue or pen; to educate ourselves and our fellow-work-

ers in the history of the labor movement. We promise that we will never knowingly wrong a brother or see him wronged if in our power to prevent it.

We will endeavor to subordinate every selfish impulse to the task of elevating the material, intellectual and moral conditions of the entire laboring class."

A CHALLENGE WITHOUT DEFIANCE.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS.

In an editorial, the "Century Magazine" (April), speaking of American trade unions, has this sentence: "There is already among their members marked restiveness under unfortunate leadership which has failed to discountenance violence and has not hesitated to defy the courts, thus alienating a body of philanthropic public opinion which has sympathized with all movements to improve the conditions of the laboring man."

Perhaps the "Century's" editor will congratulate himself upon the fact that his article was deemed so reasonable and fair to labor as to commend itself to the Post-Van Cleave-Kirby organ, the "American Industries," and was republished therein.

By the way, it may not be uninteresting to say that the "restiveness" of the members of organized labor has not manifested itself to their disadvantage, as the recent successes of their movements for higher wages, a shorter work-day and better conditions attest. And how about non-unionists? Within the past few months thousands upon thousands have joined the ranks of their organized brothers in the struggle for common protection and betterment.

Of the two counts made by the "Century" against "the leadership" of the unions, we invite the editor to try for the present the second—that of defying the courts—employing the methods of evidence and not of hearsay. We are sending him, with this end in view, copies of the last issues of the "American Federationist," as we believe they will give him, not the distortions of mere rumor, but the veritable testimony regarding the attitude toward the courts taken by the entire body of delegates to recent annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, by the members of the Executive Council, and by the presidents of the international unions affiliated with the Federation. We urgently invite the editor of the "Century" to read the copies of the Federation's official magazine we are sending him and to make public his impressions as to the nature of the defiance to the courts to which he alludes.

Surely, the thousands of appeals from decisions annually made by litigants in America can not be construed as so many

acts of defiance to the courts from which the appeals are made. Moreover, when the methods of reasoning by the appellants are such as the editor of the "Century" will find in the "American Federationist," when the appeal to the highest court and to public opinion is based on the Constitution of our country itself, when the course of the appellants has found approval on the bench in the person of the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, how can the position of the spokesmen for labor be designated as defiant by writers who wish their words to stand for exact truth?

In issuing this challenge to the editor of the "Century" we call the attention of leaders of public opinion in general to this act of ours. We invite any of them—ministers, lawyers, lecturers, editors—to send to us for copies of our Federation organ, so that they may get from the original source their information as to what organized labor's stand is regarding not only the courts but other current questions involving the welfare and the rights of American workingmen. We shall be thankful for any suggestions from competent minds which will tend to lessen incompetency in the present administration of organized labor, or for any admonitions as to intemperance of utterance, perversion of truth, or disposition to depart from the teachings of fundamental American principles which fair-minded readers can find in this magazine.

The esteemed editor of our exalted contemporary will kindly confine himself to the point on which we challenge him. He will please not wander off all over the territory of the great American continent, through the columns of the press unfriendly to trade unionism, for instances of defiance of the courts or of incompetency in labor organizations. His challenge has been against "the leadership." We submit that hence the officials of the American Federation of Labor should themselves be permitted to testify in the matter, and one important point of the evidence called for in their monthly organ.

We confidently believe that if the editor of the "Century" will only do as we ask him he will soon be in closer sympathy with the American trade union

movement as it is conducted and nearer to "the leadership" in his opinions than he has ever yet deemed possible. The virtue of truth must pierce his con-

science. He may have been passing a hasty judgment concerning trade unionism while he was befogged in misinformation.

INSURANCE BY UNIONS.

Discussing trades union insurance in the *Typographical Journal*, Don C. D. Moore presents the following interesting data:

The Cigar Makers' Union is one of the most interesting of all the unions for study in the working of labor union insurance. The union has been in existence since 1864 and began paying sick and death benefits in 1881, twenty-eight years ago, and out of work benefits in 1885. The membership of the cigar makers approximates that of the International Typographical Union, or upward of 45,000. In addition to the three forms of insurance—sick, death and disability or out of work—the organization provides for strike benefits and maintains a loaning fund for traveling members, which amounted in 1906 to \$50,630.

Applicants who are suffering from any chronic disease or who are more than fifty years of age receive no sick benefits and not more than \$50 death benefits, but they pay only 15 cents weekly dues, or half the regular per capita.

Out of Work Benefit—A member who for two years has paid his dues is entitled to receive during unemployment \$3 weekly for six weeks. After an intermission of seven weeks he may again receive the same sum for another six weeks, but not more than \$54 in any one year. The amount paid out in 1906, the latest available figures, was \$23, \$11, or an average of 60 cents per member per year.

Sick Benefit—A member who has paid his dues for an entire year has the right to receive \$5 weekly during his sickness, but not to exceed thirteen weeks. No benefits are paid the first week, and if the sickness is caused by drunkenness or vice no benefit may be drawn. The sick benefits paid in 1906 amounted to \$162,905, or \$3.69 per capita.

Death Benefits—The death benefits are graded according to length of membership. If the deceased has been a member for five years, \$200 is paid, for ten years \$350, and fifteen years \$550. An interesting feature of this part of the system is that if a member be totally disabled, losing say, his eyesight, or the use of both hands, he receives a lump sum equal to the amount his family would receive in case of his death. The cost of the cigar makers' death and dis-

ability benefits during 1906 was \$185,514, or \$4.08 per capita.

The organization has been contemplating the addition to the above of an old age pension feature. The union had on hand at the close of 1906 \$714,506, or about \$16 per capita, which would seem to insure financial stability.

The railway brotherhoods are also an interesting field of inquiry on the subject of insurance. Following as they do very hazardous occupations, the railway workers feel the need of death and disability insurance more than other kinds, and they provide it generally in the form of a compulsory minimum with an optional addition. The respective amounts in the four principal brotherhoods are:

	Compul-	Op-
	sory	tional
	Min-	Ad-
	imum.	dition.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	\$1500	\$3000
Order of Railway Conductors	1000	2000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen	1500	1500
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen	500	850

In this connection the cost of insurance to the members, compared with the cost in private companies, should be interesting to those who contend that labor unions cannot furnish insurance as cheap as the companies making it a business. Following are the figures showing the charge levied by the brotherhoods and the rate of the casualty companies for the same class of men at thirty-five years, the rates being \$1,000 insurance:

	Rate of Union.	Rate of Cas. Co.
Engineers	\$17.80	\$27.50
Conductors	16.00	22.23
Firemen	12.00	27.23
Trainmen	18.00	27.23

The average cost per \$1,000 insurance for the four unions is \$15.95, while the average in the old line companies for the same occupation is \$25.98, or an average difference of \$10.03 in favor of the brotherhoods. Moreover, the insurance companies' rates cover payments only in case of death, while the brotherhoods pay the same amount for total disability as for death—no small matter in such dangerous occupations as railroading.—*Railway Carmen's Journal*.

LABOR LEADERS ABLE.

Nothing affords more conclusive evidence of the high plane which has been reached by the organized labor movement in America than the character and manifest ability of the men who are now at the head of unions and who for less salary than they would receive in other fields of endeavor, are devoting their entire time to furthering the common sense of the wage earner. It is indeed a far cry from the old-time, much maligned "walking delegate," who in years gone by represented the popular idea of labor union authority, to the present ideal national labor official—a man of such manifest intelligence, tact and broadmindedness that he can command the respect of every capitalist or employer with whom he may come in contact, even though the latter be not in sympathy with his ideas. The caliber of most of our twentieth century labor leaders is further attested by the discretion with which they use their vast power. Although the growth of the various divisions of the labor army enables them to wield an influence little dreamed of a few years ago, most of these captains of organized labor are conservative rather than radical in policy—a tendency attested by the fact that nowadays they consent to a general strike only as a last resort. Indeed, one of the chief functions of the modern leader seems to be to prevent strikes, not to precipitate them.

From the standpoint of the union workmen the most conspicuous result of the new era of labor leadership is found in the conduct of the movement on sound business principles. When the present "school" of labor chieftains began to make their presence felt in executive positions many of the unions, national as well as local, were in a deplorable condition. Comparatively small membership in most instances gave them very limited influence, and too often there was slipshod management that manifested itself in ill-kent records, lax conduct of correspondence, etc. Even more serious was the indifference in the collection of dues—shortcomings in financial policy that necessitated many of the organizations leading a hand to mouth existence, whereas other national bodies were heavily in debt when the present officials took charge. Now all this is changed. The average national headquarters are conducted on up-to-date economical business policies, and secretarial officials keep their records by means of card index and other filing systems that are the peer of anything to be found in the corporate or

banking world. Better still, union labor finances are on a sound basis, many of the great national bodies having on hand surplus funds in excess of a quarter of a million dollars each.

Yet other evidence of the farsighted judgment of the field marshals now in command of the labor forces is found in the extent to which they are subscribing to the theory of cooperation on the most far-reaching scale. The modern tendency in the corporation and commercial world toward great aggregations of capital is being met with correspondingly potent consolidation of the organized labor forces. This disposition of the leading labor spokesmen to engage in effective team work has unquestionably been due in some measure to that knitting together of interests which has resulted in the tremendous growth in recent years of that comprehensive, country wide organization, the American Federation of Labor, an allied army of craftsmen of all classes that is now more than 2,000,000 strong. It is not solely attributable to this influence, however, for there are some very powerful labor organizations which are not affiliated with the big federation—as, for instance, the Knights of Labor and the Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers, Conductors, Trainmen and Firemen, with a total membership of 170,000 workers. The leaders of these independent bodies have for the most part, however, become imbued with the spirit of the age, and all of them may be found working shoulder to shoulder for any reform that promises benefit for labor in general.

As the president for many years past of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers is doubtless entitled to recognition as the foremost American labor leader, and certainly no champion of the rights of the toilers has ever had a stronger hold upon his followers. Prior to each successive annual convention of the Federation, there are rumors afloat of attempts to unseat Gompers, but when the great labor conference convenes each autumn it is always found that the veteran executive is the choice of so large a proportion of the labor host that his election to leadership is in effect unanimous. There is no doubt that much of Gompers' strength lies in the recognition of his rugged honesty and integrity. Temptations to "sell out" the labor interests have come to him in every imaginable form, and he might be a rich man today had he as easy a conscience as was reputed to some of the labor guardians of days gone by.—Waldon Fawcett in Pittsburg Dispatch.

JOHN MITCHELL'S ADDRESS ON UNIFORM LEGISLATION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with no sense of pride that attention is called to the humiliating truth that in the matter of providing for the victims of industrial accidents our country is lagging far behind the nations of the Old World. A speaker could approach the subject with some pride if he could with justification declare that the American people were taking the lead in methods of preventing industrial accidents and caring for the victims of such accidents as could not be prevented. There was a time when the criminal law was a matter of private settlement; when a man could atone for the murder of his neighbor by making a payment of so much money to the kinsman of the murdered man. Our attitude toward preventable accidents is still much the same. If an employer pays a ludicrously inadequate sum to an injured workman or to the dependents of a workman who has been killed, society assumes that he has discharged his full responsibility and that his concern in the matter has ceased. It seems to me that this is an entirely wrong conception of an employers' responsibility to his injured workmen. The United States is the only civilized industrial country on earth that still maintains the old relationship between employer and employee in matters of this kind. Every other civilized nation has abandoned in some measure the responsibility for industrial accidents, between master and servant as it was evolved from the common law. I am quite sure that those of you who have not investigated the subject will be surprised to learn that the law fixing the responsibility of an employer for an injury suffered by the workman in the course of his employment—with only slight modifications by statute—was evolved and developed before there was a single factory, railroad, mine or mill in the United States. This law was declared and became a part of our legal system at a time when society was not complex, when the employer and his workmen were engaged side by side, and when the employer undertook the same risks of injury that were undertaken by his employee.

Under the present law, if a workman employed on the top of a building laying brick were by accident to drop a brick on the head of another workman at the bottom of the building, the employer would not be responsible at all, because the injured workman was the fellow servant of the one who dropped the brick;

whereas, if the brick fell on the head of a stranger, a suit for damages would lie against the employer or contractor. It seems entirely wrong that an employer shall be relieved of responsibility in the one case and subject to be mulcted in damages in the other.

The workmen of America are not asking, in this instance, that the present laws be made uniform, because they are uniform—they are uniformly bad. We do propose, however, that the several states adopt the same system of compensation which now prevails in the countries of the Old World. The present system is iniquitous, wasteful, and inadequate. Of \$100000000 paid by the employers of labor in the United States to liability companies as insurance against their liability to workmen, no more than \$44,000,000 is paid out to the workmen in the settlement of claims for injuries sustained. And of this \$44,000,000, fully one-half—or \$22000,000—is paid by the workman to his attorneys for services rendered by them. The remaining \$56,000,000 is absorbed by liability companies to pay the costs of administration, solicitation, litigation and incidental expenses.

And what is more regrettable than this tremendous waste is the fact that our courts are overwhelmed with personal injury suits when the time of the courts should be given to the adjudication of other matters. Equally regrettable is the fact that for the small amounts which are actually paid to relieve the distress of injured workmen or the dependents of workmen who have been killed, it is necessary under our present system to await the slow processes of the courts, and it not infrequently happens that a claimant is compelled to wait for from two to five years before his claim can be adjudicated. What we need in lieu of this wasteful and unjust process is a system whereby the money shall be paid to the workman at the time he needs it most, paid to him when he must employ doctors, when he must have medical care. It should be paid to dependents—in the case of fatal accident—immediately after the accident occurs. It is entirely wrong and it is unjust to require the widow and the children of a workman who has been killed to wait for five years to be recompensed, even inadequately as they are recompensed, for the loss sustained through the death of the husband and father.

At the present time three state governments have appointed commissions to investigate the subject of employers' liability; these commissions are trying to find some means of introducing a system of automatic compensation in cases of in-

dustrial accident. It is not known at this time whether the constitutions of our states will permit legislations of this character. If the constitutions of the states will permit legislation of this kind, workmen's compensation in lieu of employers' liability laws should be enacted at once; if, on the other hand, it is ascertained that the constitutional prohibitions are insuperable, we should undertake to amend the constitution of the states so as to enable the people to govern themselves. If we have built up a system of government that denies to us the right of governing ourselves in ac-

cordance with our requirements, the sooner we know that fact the better, in order that we may take the necessary steps for the protection of our people.

Ladies and gentlemen, not only are we killing more workmen in America, both in the aggregate and in proportion to the number employed, than are being killed and injured in any other country in the world, but I regret to say that statistics indicate that the number of casualties is increasing year after year, whereas in other countries there is a constant and steady diminution in the number of workmen killed and injured.

HARDEST BLOWS TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

If it were possible to compute in any way the damage done annually to organized labor by its own membership, the figures would in all probability prove most appalling. That this damage is for the most part done unwittingly—or at all events unintentionally—makes little difference; a blow is a blow whether dealt accidentally or intentionally.

Of the manifold incidents which combine to create this damage none are perhaps so directly injurious as the buying of non-union made goods of any kind, and the public exposition of fancied grievances against local or international officials, or anybody connected with union labor.

The first named takes good, hard cash out of union pockets and places it in the coffers of the enemies of organized labor, the second places an argument in the mouths of labor's enemies and stimulates the already existing prejudices in the minds of those not educated to the cause.

Every dollar spent for a sweatshop or other unfair goods is a dollar invested in retarding the onward movement of organized labor; every publicly uttered word on the part of a union man against anything connected with organized labor is a counter-move to the arguments of the organizers of the movement.

If every union man and woman in the world could be brought to realize the all-importance of the "little things," mistakes of the kind set forth would be scarcer than financial donations to labor from the Manufacturers' Association.

Ten cents spent for a pack of non-union made tobacco won't make or break organized labor, but if each member of one-third of the unofficially reputed membership of the A. F. of L. was to spend 20 cents a week in that way the manufacturers of tobacco who are fighting labor hardest would annually handle the sum of \$1,040,000 of good, union-earned money.

It's pretty tough, perhaps, to give up a brand of tobacco one has smoked for twenty years—before labels were as popular as they are today—just because a little slip of blue paper doesn't appear on the package, but there's lot of harder things to give up, and among them are one's principles. Also, so long as you continue to support that non-union factory, the chances of unionizing it are diminished by one.

The thrifty housewife (who sometimes spends ten cents car fare to reach a bargain sale where they are selling eight-cent goods for six cents) may find it hard, on occasions, to pay ten cents more and get a label on her purchase than to take the perhaps cheaper—but inferior—unlabeled article; but if she pauses to remember that it was organized labor which fattened John's Saturday night pay envelope and gave him two more hours a day, at least, home, and that the money she spends for the unlabeled goods may later be utilized by heartless capital to put a kink in John's envelope and to keep him working a couple of hours or so longer, she may think differently.

One of the first arguments that the employers confront labor officials with when an attempt is made to unionize an establishment is that organized labor does not patronize the label. Taken generally, that argument could be punctured in several million places, but so long as there is even room for a toehold the tenacious unfair employer will hang on to his own argument. It behooves every member of organized labor to do his or her share to remove even that toehold and there is nothing that talks like cold cash. The moment that the flow of cash swerves toward his label-using competitor the other fellow will become a label convert, too.

It is said that every knock is a boost, and so it is—if you look at it rightly. Every knock that you hand a labor official

is a boost for non-union labor, and vice versa.

The existing prejudice against organized labor thrives on ill-timed criticism of anything pertaining to labor unions, and when it is remembered that this prejudice has already reached even the legal bench of the United States, it can

readily be seen that it requires no added stimulus from our side of the fence.

Members of secret fraternal orders do not parade their business on the streets, at work, nor yet at home. Too many union men forget, perhaps, the obligation they took when they became members.—Steamfitter.

FAITH IN UNIONS.

No man, society of men, or institution domineered by man, woman or child, will ever reach a very conspicuous place in the esteem of humanity without a sincere manifestation of faith in the man, woman or child as well as the enterprise they have in their care. Almost every man who has had the good fortune to be invested with the insignia of success in life has been blessed with the possession of great faith in himself and the result of his own efforts. Great characters all through the pages of history, when introducing to the world a brilliant and useful idea or principle that meant progressiveness and a revolution of antiquated things have been greatly embarrassed by opposition manifested by their fellow men against the perfection of those things that meant so much to the progress of the world, and even to those who were most active in their persecutions to contend with and to overcome, their possession of an abundance of faith in self and in the things that their minds were bent upon achieving, they forged their principles and works to the front and mankind was made the happier on account of their spirit of determination and self-faith. Thus it has been since the history of man began.

Many a person's efforts have been ridiculed when developing some of the most useful inventions known. Yet the undaunted mind of the designing genius remained firm in his ability to demonstrate the correctness of the principle, and they have made good on those things in thousands of instances.

So it is in all walks of life. There must be correct principles set for the high standards necessary for the establishment of the greatest amount of happiness in life, and then there must prevail among all a firm faith in them.

Then will there follow works, which will bear fruits as the reward of such faith. The same faith that urged our ancestors on to a successful realization of their fondest hopes is now the very thing most needed in our present day labor unions. More men of the self-confidence caliber who will not lower their head nor submit to anything adverse to the best interest of the human

race, be it a foreign foe, a contempt decree at home or what not, are in great need at this time.

No discouragement should be allowed to deviate the course of any union man from that which is intended for the highest degree of happiness for himself and those dependent upon him. Union men who have not the proper degree of confidence and grit to carry out their part of the fight of all their organization stands for, are unworthy of being recognized as union men. Above everything, let us determine those things that are best for union men and their families and each carry out his part of the program towards the realization of them. Lose not your faith in the enjoyment of great things and sustain your convictions as to the best means of attaining them. Better things are in store for you if you do your full part. Have faith in yourself and your union.—Exchange.

OUR DUTY AS UNION MEN.

One of the loads under which organizations are constantly struggling is that of indifference on the part of the members. How often do we not see local unions with only a sufficient number of brothers present to constitute a quorum. This condition prevails not only in small locals, but sometimes in local unions which have a membership of several hundred. Some locals have gone so far as to place a fine on members who do not attend their meetings once every so often. This is a very sad condition of affairs. If there is one place where the union man ought to visit once or twice a month, it is his union, because his union means everything to him.

It is through the union he secures shorter hours. It is through his union that he secures better sanitary conditions. It is chiefly through his union that he secures legislation favorable to labor. It is through his union that the children are enabled to keep out of the factory and in the school. In fact, it is through the union that the laboring man's whole standard of life has been raised.

Is not such an institution worth fighting for? In consideration of the fact that the union is doing all these things for us, is it not our duty to attend the meetings of our union regularly, instead of allowing a few to conduct the business of our organizations? The union is a democratic institution, in that it allows every man to have a voice in conducting its affairs, but how can we be active members in our union unless we attend the meetings regularly?

We must get over the habit of just paying our dues alone. We must attend the conference of our fellows.

We need all the energy and brains in our union to overcome obstacles, and these can best be obliterated by participation in labor's cause, the purchasing of nothing that does not bear the union label, the bearing of our share of the burden and our general co-operation to the end of fully emancipating all those who sweat by the toil of their brow.

The man who attends a meeting once a year and who pays his dues upon threat of exposure is not worthy the name "union man."—Union Banner.

HIS STRONGEST TRAIT.

The man whose independence is his strongest trait is the fellow whose example we should follow to the bitter end, for with all his other faults, he has the courage to hold up his head, to demand his rights, to claim his recognition, to compel respect and to dominate his own interests. He is the fellow who always succeeds, for the reason that he has both manhood and pluck, and that it is a big undertaking to down the mortal who possesses a proper proportion of these priceless qualities in his makeup. The independent man is generally the sensible man, the reasonable man and the thrifty man. He does not rush in "where angels fear to tread," heedlessly and foolishly, but with calm and deliberately planned action makes his demands and sees that they are granted. His very independence makes him the object and admiration, not only among his fellow-men, but also with those by whom he is employed, and who, in a monetary sense, at least, occupy a higher place on the social scale. His employer may, to some extent, inwardly object to his firm, independent demeanor, but at the same time he cannot help but admire it, and to respect him for it. Of course, independence should be tempered with a proper degree of respect for the rights of others, and should not be arrogantly made manifest. It should be diluted with dignity and seasoned with civility and courtesy toward all, and generally is, for the man who has the courage of his convictions, and who will stand by them without fear or favor, is the man who has education

enough to be a gentleman. As a leader of men the independent man is absolutely a necessity, and for those who are among the wage earners of the earth such a character is vitally important to lead them onward in successful demand and accomplishment. No one can respect the cringing, cowardly mortal whose every act is of the cur. Only the independent man is worthy of the name.—Exchange.

MENACE TO UNIONISM.

Enemies of the union movement continually characterize it as a menace, but do not explain themselves, for the very good reason that in nearly every such case the person who enters such denunciatory remarks is either engaged in some work or business in which his personal desires are for the moment at least thwarted by the existence of unions or he is a pleader for some friends or clients with such interests.

It makes a big difference whose ox is being gored.

Many employers of labor will broadly approve of labor unions when there are no questions in controversy within their own establishment, only to roundly denounce the unions at the first sign of dissatisfaction in any department of their business.

Take Van Cleave, for instance. He always proclaimed that he believed in labor unions "of the right kind," but his conduct showed he did not wish to have any in his establishment, and at that point he began to talk about the "menace" of unions.

Kirby, being president of a union-fighting association of employers, calls unionism a menace. So does Post and Parry.

Eliot talks glibly about alleged defects or dangers in unionism, of which he knows nothing by practical experience and can only represent the prejudiced views of employing interests with whom he is friendly or upon whom he depends.

There are other broader minded men, some of whom are employers, who recognize that unions are a necessity to the workers; that without unions the workers would be crushed out of existence; that wages would be so low if fixed by the unchecked desires of the meanest of the employers that home life would be destroyed, education denied to children, proper nourishment denied to the workers and the future existence of the workers made impossible.

They recognize the unions as standing for the home, the family, education, progress, civilization and posterity—a menace to all foes of these and to nothing else.

The unions may well be proud of the enemies they have made.—Shoe Workers' Journal.



Official Journal of the

INTERNATIONAL

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Published Monthly.

PETER W. COLLINS, Editor.

Pierik Building, Springfield, Illinois.

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This Journal will not be held responsible for views expressed by correspondents.

The first of each month is the closing date; all copy must be in our hands on or before.



NOTICE.

The Stockton (Cal.) scale went into effect June 27, two shops signing up. Men out in seven shops for increased scale.

Wiremen are requested to stay away from Stockton until further notice. Write H. W. Herker, Secretary L. U. No. 591, 628 E. Oak St., Stockton, Cal.

BISHOP KEANE'S TRIBUTE TO LABOR.

Bishop Keane, in a lecture given under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus, at Milwaukee, made the following statement in answer to the question, "Are Labor Unions Legitimate?"

"Every man has an inborn right to life and liberty, and right to fair livelihood with a sufficient return for his labor to rear and maintain a family in decency.

"He has an even right to secure them by any legitimate means, and when the fact of competition in labor and combination of capital should combine to rob him of that which is due him, he has a perfect right and should so combine for his own protection, and labor unions are perfectly legitimate and are here to stay."

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., June 29, 1910.

MR. WM. J. SPENCER, Secretary,
Building Trades Department, A. F.
of L., Windsor Hotel, Atlantic City,
N. J.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Pursuing directions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, I herewith transmit its decision relative to the Electrical Workers' controversy.

Inasmuch as the regular and customary course of adjusting trade union disputes, as practiced in the A. F. of L. in the dispute between the two factions in the Electrical Workers' organization, and as per the decision of the Denver and Toronto A. F. of L. conventions, has been interrupted by a complication which arose in the deliberation of the special committee on arbitration of this dispute, which was named by the Toronto convention; and, by a condition which arose in the court proceedings in Cleveland, Ohio, whereby, while one of the factions eventually, to wit, on May 21, 1910, made an overture to withdraw the suits in court, over which the litigation in the question actually existed, good faith in said procedure or in any similar procedure is in doubt, because the law and the practice in Ohio permits at any time after application for dismissal has been granted, that similar procedure in court may be reinstituted by

any member of either faction, the Executive Council rather than to be considered as directly or indirectly causing further delay in the court, also in order to permit the regular and customary course being again pursued, stands ready and willing to so proceed, whenever the pending action in court in Cleveland will permit of that being done without the further complication that might ensue by any decision of said court and action we might take being at variance therewith.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Washington, D. C.

To the Officers and Members of National and International Unions:

Greeting:—In pursuance of the instructions of the last convention of the Union Label Trades Department, as per a resolution adopted at that convention, your attention is called to the Union Label of the Piano, Organ and Musical Instrument Workers' Union, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Union Label Trades Department as well.

It is estimated that over two hundred thousand pianos and organs are produced yearly in this country, without taking into consideration the numerous number of smaller instruments, such as violins, mandolins, banjos, zithers, etc. There is no question but that a large percentage of the production of the above named articles find their way into the homes of working men and women of our country. In purchasing articles of this character the union label can be obtained and should be insisted upon.

In proportion to the amount of musical instruments that are manufactured yearly the sales by the manufacturers direct make but a small percentage of the entire output. Almost invariably these articles are sold by agents or dealers who make it their business to supply the customers with whichever make of instrument they might desire, and these agents or dealers would as readily sell the purchaser a piano, organ, or other musical instrument bearing the union label if they be asked for and insisted upon.

In almost every state, as well as in Canada, in all the large cities, there are agents who deal in union-made instruments. This list is too lengthy for publication in this letter, but whenever our members and friends are desirous of making purchases in this direction, we are in a position to supply them with the names of the dealers in their respective localities who can furnish them with union-made instruments. The Piano, Or-

gan and Musical Instrument Workers' Union have met with many difficulties in their efforts to organize the trade and better the conditions, shorten the hours, and increase the wages of their members.

They can be to a large degree successful in this direction if they receive the moral assistance and support of organized labor and its friends by insisting, when making purchases, that the union label of this organization shall appear upon the same.

The label can be found on all union-made pianos or organs on the left hand side, inside, of the instrument.

Officers of National and International Unions issuing official journals are kindly requested to reproduce this letter in their journal at some convenient time in the near future. By complying with this request you will receive the heartfelt thanks of the Piano, Organ and Musical Instrument Workers' Union and this department as well.

Yours fraternally,

THOMAS F. TRACY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

IMPORTANCE OF TRIFLES.

It is the little things that do matter—to a woman, a man would say, little thinking how greatly he himself is influenced by the trifles he despises. If the dinner is late, or his cuffs are frayed, if his wife has forgotten to tidy her hair, or she is not ready at the time appointed, he is distinctly ruffled; the fire is laid ready for the blaze—it may be in business that the match is applied, or it may be at home; it matters not where, the results are disastrous and the little thing is responsible.

Home life is made up of little things, but unfortunately the man does not realize it. He little thinks how wearing are the little things, and he has no compunction in adding to them. He does not know how much it means to the tired housewife if he even stoops to put coals on the fire, if he puts away his slippers himself, if he does not leave cigar ends in every available spot. But he is so occupied with the big things that unless he has been trained to be thoughtful, he makes life a burden to the woman he has promised to cherish.

To the woman who lives among the little things they matter intensely. It is bitter to hear that he forgets the anniversary of their wedding, that he lets her birthday pass, as the dear ones at home never did; that he seldom thinks of giving her a present or suggesting an outing; that he does not even pass the salt at the table, nor open the door for her to go out. It is the little things which build up the barrier between husband and wife.
—St. Louis Star.

BRIEFS IN CASE OF UNITED HATTERS.

Prior to the argument before the Supreme Court of the United States in the Hatters' case, permission was obtained for the American Federation of Labor to intervene and present a brief in addition to the one presented by the attorneys for the United Hatters of North America. Several months passed. Widespread interest has been manifested in the contents of that brief and inasmuch as it is difficult to obtain copies thereof and to satisfy the interest of our friends and students we publish it herewith. It is as follows:

Supreme Court of the United States.
October Term, 1907. No. 389. Dietrich
Loewe et al. vs. Martin Lawlor et al.

Brief of Thomas Carl Spelling on Behalf
of the American Federation of Labor,
Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison,
Intervenors.

On a certificate from and writ of certiorari for the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the second district.

Certificate filed July 11 1907 certiorari and return filed October 21, 1907.

The complaint is profuse and voluminous, as is also the demurrer. In pleasant contrast we have an opinion by the district judge which is brief, pointed and concise.

1. It will be seen that while the plaintiffs allege in the complaint in general terms, injury to "property and business" (Par. 8), and to "business and property" (Par. 22), yet circumstantially and specifically they differentiate the portion of their business outside the State of Connecticut from that within that state, and intentionally and industriously show that they claim no damage for injury to the Connecticut portion, but only to that beyond that state; that is to say, to what they designate as plaintiffs' "interstate commerce." The term is varied. Sometimes it is spoken of as plaintiffs' "interstate trade," "interstate business," etc.; but the intent to rely upon injury resulting from restricting or "narrowing" interstate commerce is fully expressed and is as obvious as any single feature of the case made by the pleading.

Now it is too well settled that the common law policy inimical to restraint of trade had no place in federal jurisprudence prior to the enactment of the act of July 2, 1890, known as the Anti-Trust Act, to require the citation of authority in support of the proposition; and one of the questions to be decided here—a question met at the very threshold of discussion—is what is interstate commerce? And the answer—part of it at least—is that it is

an ideal thing, without form or substance, unconnected with any of its subjects, agencies, or instrumentalities. It is even distinct from the contracts which are made as a basis of interstate commerce. In short, the term is an abstraction, just as is the term "jurisprudence." We have this statute to protect interstate commerce from a certain species of interference, just as we have a statute to prevent obstruction of the administration of justice (Rev. Stat., secs. 5604, et seq.). Neither justice nor interstate commerce is susceptible of ownership or control by any individual. In a certain sense they both belong to the nation; but even here it would be more appropriate to say that they pertain to the nation or to all the people of the nation. Hence we see the germinal fallacy of the complainant in this case. The action is based on the untenable theory that plaintiffs own, or rightfully control, some part of interstate commerce, whereas, in fact and law, it is the very purpose of the statute under which the action is brought to forbid and prevent any such ownership or control, and for this reason plaintiffs' theory is self-destructive.

2. That the statute gives an action to those injured by the agreements and combinations specified therein, and not otherwise, needs no argument. The things alleged to have been done by the defendants is not one of such agreements or combinations. The conduct of the defendants, however reprehensibly it may be viewed, has no direct or indirect tendency to restrain or even obstruct interstate commerce, if the foregoing definition or view of its true nature be correct. But I will not elaborate this head of argument, and will merely refer to the opinion of the learned district judge in this case in support of my contention hereunder (see transcript, folio 43-47).

The idea which appears to have dominated the plaintiffs in the bringing of this action was that the extent and magnitude of the defendants' operations constituted an element to be considered in determining the quality of the alleged injury; but, upon like reasoning, it would be difficult to place a limit to the number of actions which might be brought under the act. The same theory would support an action by distillers of, and wholesale dealers in, intoxicating liquors, against temperance organizations whose efforts tend to reduce sales and diminish the volume of trade.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, and
FRANK MORRISON,
Intervenors.

By T. C. SPELLING,
Attorney.

HOW TO ADVANCE WAGES.

By DR. JOHN BASCOM.

There are few efforts to which men are frequently called that require more patience, prudence and reason than the effort to advance wages. Custom and conventional sentiment, and the interests of the most active portion of the business world, are opposed to it. And yet such an advancement may stand for urgent wants and the best development of society.

Times of prosperity, rather than times of adversity, should be chosen in which to secure better pay. It should satisfy the workmen to hold their own when all are under pressure. A general advance in prices is likely to promote the interests of the employer, though it may be unfavorable to the workman. Prices of products more readily increase than do wages, and even if wages have gained something, they may not have gained as much as the commodities which the laborer consumes. The workman must determine his position, not by his wages only, but by what his wages will purchase. There seems to be some variety of opinion whether wages have kept pace with prices. The workman can determine that for himself by seeing how far his wages go in providing for his wants. He is not to be deceived by the improvement simply in the price of labor. His real gain lies in the increased consumption open to him.

The large production of gold is likely to give for a prolonged period an advance of prices, and the laborer must be on the alert, if he is to hold his own; if the general activity is to accrue to his advantage. It is reasonable that he should share this prosperity. Much of it may even arise from the fact that the products manufactured have risen in price more than the labor associated with them. The workman is not to be left in the trough of the wave, while the employer rides on the crest. The time to insist on a fair division of gains is while the gains are being made. This is the moment in which the employer is most able to advance wages, and is least willing to lose time in bickering. The justice of the claim is also manifest that the workman, suffering the evil of high prices, should be able to meet the emergency by better pay.

The claim for improved wages should be accompanied, as far as possible, with improved productive power more skill and more interest. There will never be any permanent and coherent growth in society without this expansion in good will. This greater coherence and concurrence of effort must extend to all the agents in production. It is for increased intelligence and responsibility that we can afford to pay a higher price. If labor, at each ad-

vance, is to do its work more negligently and greedily, the reason and the motive for concession are greatly reduced. The rule of procedure would then seem to become, "fight it out."

The successful man in business owes his gains to the intelligence and the assiduity he brings to his affairs. It is these qualities which appeal to him, and these qualities which justify concession. The workman should see and emulate this temper. While he demands more, he should, at the same time, give more. The great advantage of cooperation and of profit-sharing has been the increased interest they have aroused. If working for wages is to be kept alongside of them it must be by means of the same temper. This temper brings the immediate justification of more efficiency. Thus each movement forward prepares the way for the next; conflict decreasing and concessions increasing with progress. The intelligent employer should be made to feel that he cannot afford to go back to the inferior skill, inferior responsibility and inferior interest of poorer workmen. Skill and responsibility are productive terms. He cannot dispense with them.

The claim which workmen make for higher wages should also be moderate and, as nearly as possible, universal in the employment affected by them. These claims may be constant and persistent, but they must be such as can be conceded, at any one time, and the motives for effort still remain sound with the employer. What ruins the employer ruins the workman as well. Social movement forward is slow, tentative and universal. Demands are not to be made which so hasten the step as to break the ranks. The possibilities of the employer include the possibilities of the employed. A concession that cannot be made, or cannot be maintained if made, is an unfortunate issue between labor and capital. It perplexes their relations and wastes time, resources and good will in the ensuing conflict. Every just and moderate gain establishes its own footing, and prepares the way for further improvement.

An effort to advance wages should be disassociated with all forms and degrees of violence. It should be a peaceful, not a forceful, rearrangement. Force, whether it proceeds from the employer or the employees, means war, not peace; means sinking into a more brutal relation, not rising into a more social one. What society most demands under all circumstances, what it must maintain at all hazards, is order, a peaceful attitude of men

toward each other. It is better to suffer defeat for the time being than it is to gain victory by violence. In physical conflict, the workmen are sure, in the long run, to be worsted; the present resources of society are with the employer, and as soon as the nature of the warfare is disclosed, the community takes the side of peace. Peace is never really conquered by war. War begets war in endless succession, till neither peace nor victory is attainable. We might as well suppose that we should secure a crop by reploughing the soil which contains the seed, as that we can reach favorable conditions of production by conflict between its agents. The last disaster, violence, falls most heavily on the weakest. They, above all, need quiet conditions of growth.

The claims of workmen to increased wages should rest on reason. One, in studying the labor movement in England during the last century, or in America at the present time, cannot but feel what an immense weight of custom and current feeling is to be overcome, and how resistful it at once is if any real mistakes are made, or insufficient reasons given. Instantly the clamor of the leaders of industry is raised, and the press and the platform begin to proclaim how fatal any concessions will be to social growth and

social stability. These upheavals, this breaking up of commercial foundations incident to the labor movement, are thought to be of the nature of an earthquake, sure to destroy the work already done. The labor movement must justify itself at every step to the soberminded few; and compel results to plead its cause. Any slip, any disaster, any insufficient reason, is overcome but slowly. Like one bearing a heavy burden, the workman, if he stumbles, regains his footing with difficulty. This fact should bring no discouragement, but it should be an occasion of caution. Suitable wages once established, customs once made humane, will only be the firmer because they repose on these permanent foundations. The training involved in the labor movement is of the best, a training which braces a man up in his thinking, and puts him at once with his fellowmen. Support based on reason, slowly and patiently won, is a victory of right-mindedness and good will, which makes the workman a master builder in society. The old economy simply traces the results of indolent and unwise action. The new economy relies on intelligence and harmony to prevent these disasters, and put in their place an ever-increasing prosperity.—The Bricklayer and Mason.

LABOR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THOMAS REECE.

[Exclusive correspondence of the American Federationist.]

London, May 28, 1910.

Once more the cotton trade crisis has been postponed three months by a decision arrived at by the master spinners on May 27. It is asserted that 92 per cent of the members of the Masters' Federation voted for the 5 per cent cut being made in wages, and altogether the owners of 47,000,000 spindles were in favor of a reduction. The official reason given for the postponement of the fight (a serious and savage conflict it would have been) is that it would be very improper to precipitate a big industrial conflict in a period of national mourning for the late monarch. The problem for the operative cotton spinners of Lancashire is a momentous one. Systematic short time has reduced their earnings and brought down their level of general comfort to a point where a 5 per cent cut in the small wages they at present earn would bring to thousands of homes the actual pinch of want. Furthermore, it is not always possible to see where the present necessity for a reduction, from the employers' point of view, comes in. It is true that earnings

of the mills have gone down and that very frequently dividends have had to be paid from reserves, and after all these reserves were accumulated in the boom periods for such an occasion as this and the share that the workers had in the boom periods was of a severely circumscribed character. Two advances of 5 per cent in wages were secured. One of these has since been taken back and now the second is threatened. Mills spinning American cotton are now working fifteen and a half hours weekly short time, and in the weaving departments there is much slackness and waiting for warps. Returns from firms employing 123,000 workpeople show a decrease of 8 per cent in wages paid as compared with a year ago. The last report of the Operative Cotton Spinners gives the united membership as 19,440, an increase of 229 on the year. Of these, 11,134 were piecers. Of the full members almost 10 per cent were unemployed, as compared with 13½ per cent a year before. This report mentions that the total number of claims made by members under the Workmen's Compensation Act since it came into force has been 3,844.

Employment elsewhere throughout the country is increasingly good, and the pub-

lished returns from the various trade unions showing the percentages of members unemployed records for nearly every industry except cotton improvements both upon the preceding month and as compared with the figures of the corresponding period of 1909.

The eleventh annual convention of the South Wales Miners' Federation was most successful, and the financial figures were substantial. The accounts showed that the income during 1909 was \$378,685, and the expenditure \$352,910, the credit balance of \$615,055 at the beginning of the year having risen to \$640,000 odd, over \$25,900 being thus added to accumulations, which now total \$1,130,385. The out-of-work expenditure increased from \$16,685 to \$126,155; the strike pay from \$91,645 to \$122,955; the total of general expenditure (including these items) having risen from \$205,145 to \$353,760. The number of delegates present were 249, representing 129,031 members out of the total membership of 141,089. Nothing very sensational took place during the convention's sessions, but plenty of solid work was put in. It is interesting to note especially that the delegates unanimously resolved to establish a weekly newspaper devoted to their interests, a committee being appointed to draft a scheme. Scarcely any reference was made to the new wage agreement, but there was some discussion upon rule 20, and a resolution was passed enlarging its scope, so that in future it should be invoked upon all wage questions, instead of (as at present) only in defense of an existing rate. Upon the "abnormal place" difficulty, the meeting agreed to a motion desiring the men in all districts of Great Britain to seek a fixed scale; and, upon failure to secure this, that a national conference be called. An amendment of the Coal Mines Regulation Act was demanded, with more inspection; and other resolutions which were passed dealt with the Osborne case judgment, the decision that damages may be set off against wages (as to which an appeal to the House of Lords is desired), and similar matters.

Labor troubles have arisen in Newport amongst the general laborers engaged in the handling of cargo, and the matter has been referred to arbitration. The coal trade was not affected except so far as a resolution of the coal trimmers indicated the intention to stand by the laborers, should assistance from the trimmers be necessary; and the railwaymen also were sympathetic. The railway employes of the Alexandra Dock Company passed a resolution wishing success to the strikers, and deciding "to stand by them in their efforts to maintain the position for which they were fighting." This Newport trouble is not yet at an end, and the process of arbitration is likely to be difficult, so that, although coal shippers are

not directly involved at present, the matter is one which at any time may occasion uneasiness.

The reputation of the British Parliamentary Labor party, which has been on a visit to Germany to inquire into the condition of the German working classes, returned to England on May 24. The scope of their inquiry included the cost of living, housing accommodation, wages, and hours of labor, and the standard of life generally. Three weeks was spent on the tour, and the delegates speak highly of the magnificent organization of the German trade unions. A report is to be published before the middle of June.

The labor exchanges continue to furnish statistics of an encouraging character. The proportion of vacancies filled to vacancies notified rose from 69 per cent in March to 75 per cent in April, and the number of exchanges opened are now over 100. At the same time there are apprehensions amongst trade unionists that the labor exchanges may be misused. The exchanges are absorbing one of the most important functions of a trade union—that of finding situations for its unemployed. They afford new and quite inexpensive opportunities for employers to obtain contact with workers whose misfortunes have weakened their capacity for individual bargaining, and have thus become a comparatively easy prey to the employer who has no conscience where wages are concerned, and who will have no scruples about using the exchanges for strike-breaking purposes. I remember that the labor exchanges in Germany were reported to be regarded by the trade unions there rather unfavorably, although nothing definitely detrimental has been urged against them. As a result of a conference between the managing committee of the British General Federation of Trade Unions and the head official of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade, instructions are being given to the local branches of the affiliated trade unions to sift locally all complaints as to the unfair use of local exchanges and to forward the results to the Federation headquarters. The Board of Trade has given the Federation an assurance that in all cases of trade disputes the exchange officials are bound to observe absolute neutrality, but at the same time it appears that an employer whose workmen have been locked out or who are on strike will be supplied with men to take their places. The men so supplied are informed of the circumstances surrounding the application and that is all. This is a very big reading of "absolute neutrality" and one that will bring up the whole question, I am afraid, in a very acute form before long.

Genuine sorrow has been felt by British labor men at the death of King Edward VII. The trade union leaders here recog-

nize the late monarch's interest in international peace and social reform. The Housing Reform and Old Age Pensions were two topics in which he took personal interest. As Prince of Wales he sat on the royal commission on the housing of the working classes twenty-five years ago, having as colleagues there such different types of men as Cardinal Manning and Henry Broadhurst, one of the earliest old-type labor members of Parliament. Later on, on the royal commission on the condition of the aged poor, which led eventually to the Old Age Pensions Act,

the King, then Prince of Wales, examined witnesses personally to secure information.

The Labor party, however, is strongly opposed to any undue postponement of the debate on the Lords' veto issue. The labor men are not concerned with the contention that the raising of important constitutional issues will embarrass King George V in the early months of his reign. It is known that the new King as Prince of Wales followed the veto discussions closely and is well equipped for that agitation.

THE WATCHWORD IS ORGANIZE.

BY JOHN MITCHELL.

There are recessions and progressions of the trade union movement just as there is an ebb and flow of the tide. The movement is helped on in days of prosperity and retarded in days of adversity, but gaining wisdom and experience in periods of adversity it rushes on to new heights with each recurring period of prosperity. An examination of the reports of membership submitted to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated national and international unions for the past two decades would seem to indicate that the growth in membership has been in cycles; that is to say, the increase has been much greater in some years than in others. This fact may be attributed to a number of circumstances, but it is due principally to the state of trade, as it is affected by industrial activity or stagnation. In running over the periods which mark the most rapid progress in the years gone by and comparing industrial conditions then with the state of trade now, it would seem that we have reached another of those psychological moments when the work of organization should take on new impetus, and unless all signs fail the present and the next year should see our organization in a stronger and better condition financially and numerically than ever before.

It goes without saying, of course, that labor organizations do not grow automatically. They do not evolve from struggling, impotent unions into strong, effective organizations as caterpillars evolve into butterflies or as boys evolve into men. While it is true that in some trades having strict union shop agreements, the organizations may recruit new members and gain strength without any special effort being put forth by the members or representatives of such organizations, yet a union that depends for its success or progress entirely upon either its label or upon those who come forward unsought and unbidden is not likely to enjoy a large measure of success

or to become an important factor in the family of unions comprising the American Federation of Labor.

Nothing in this world is worth having that is not worth fighting for, and if the organizations of labor are to attain their greatest strength, if they are to rise to their fullest possibilities, every one—officers, organizers, members alike—must put forth some earnest effort, every one must be willing to make some sacrifice to bring within the fold of the union every man eligible to membership. And a good union man will not cease in his efforts when his own trade is organized; because there can be no real security, no permanent and lasting progress, until all the workers in all the trades are members of their respective unions and united under the standard of the American Federation of Labor.

During the present period of ascending wages and industrial activity an extraordinary effort should be made to perfect the organizations in the partially unionized trades and to establish new unions in the unorganized districts. There are, of course, tremendous obstacles in the way and great opposition is to be overcome, but the history of past efforts and successes should give us courage and confidence to move on to new victories and greater achievements. Indeed, it will be found in the future, as it has been in the past, that not the least of our difficulties will be the indifference of our own members and, in some cases, the inexplicable hostility of the unorganized workmen.

It is, of course, much easier to dilate upon our failures than to present a specific method of bringing the unorganized into communion with the organized workman, yet we may all profit from the experience of others, and perhaps it would be advantageous if men having long experience in the labor movement should give the benefit of that experience to one another.

The usual method of organizing wage-

earnings is through public meetings, at which addresses relative to the subject are delivered, through correspondence, publication, etc. In other words, the work of organization devolves, in a large measure, upon the salaried officers, the business agents, and, to a lesser extent, the local committees. And yet it is safe to say that no system of organization can prove so effective as one wherein the individual member of the union takes an active and substantial part. Let each member be ever alert and constant in a determination to make his union a tower of strength, a protection to himself, his fellow-workers, and a blessing to the community, and all workmen in the vicinity who are employed at the trade will be brought within the fold of that union. Unfortunately, however, there are too many trade unionists who feel and act as though in paying their dues and assessments they have discharged their full responsibility and that no further effort should be required of them. Is it any wonder that thousands of workmen fail to join the union when they observe so much indifference on the part of those already holding membership?

If the 3,000,000 organized workmen of this country could be awakened to a sense of their personal responsibility; if each one of them should become imbued with a realization of his own strength and if these forces were applied intelligently and enthusiastically, how long would it be until every man and woman working for wages would be a member of the union? If every union man should constitute himself an organizer and should give even one evening each week to the work of organization, if he should single out one non-union neighbor or acquaintance and persist in an effort to organize that man, what a short time it would take to unionize all the workers of our country! And if all were organized, how much less difficult it would be to secure higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of life and labor! What has been written may not prove a contribution to the work of organization. Indeed, it is but an introduction to the relation of an experience which may prove of value.

Some twenty years ago in a western camp, in which resided about 1,800 miners, there was instituted a local union with thirteen members. When this union was formed, it was the hope and expectation that in a short time all the men employed in the mines would make application for membership therein, but to the surprise and disappointment of the thirteen charter members, weeks rolled by and no applications were received. In order to create interest and enthusiasm, mass meetings were decided upon, picnics were given, and various methods usually followed in such cases were adopted to build up the organization. Speakers were

brought to the camp—at no little expense to the handful of members—and while by these means some men were induced to join, they maintained their membership for only a short time and then dropped out. This situation continued for several years, the union building up occasionally, and then falling back to its original status. Finally, one night, after the whole situation had been canvassed, a member arose in the meeting, making the statement as there seemed no hope of establishing permanently a strong, effective union, the charter should be surrendered and the work of organization abandoned. A feeling of gloom and despair pervaded the atmosphere, when another member arose and expressed himself as not being in sympathy with the proposition to surrender the charter, stating that before such a course were resorted to, he wished to offer a motion that each one of the thirteen members be instructed and notified that if any one of them failed to bring to the next meeting a candidate for membership, he should be expelled from the union. The motion was adopted by a unanimous vote. At the next meeting one week later, each of the old members was present, and, to the delight of all, each one of them had brought with him a candidate for membership. The union now had twenty-six members. Encouraged by the success of this experiment, a resolution was adopted to the effect that any one of the twenty-six failing to bring with him to the next meeting a candidate for membership should be expelled from the union. When the next meeting convened, each of the twenty-six presented a candidate for initiation. This process was continued with more or less regularity—although not always with the same degree of success that had attended its introduction—until practically all the men in the camp were members of the union.

It goes without saying that this system might not work so well in other industries or in another community, and, of course, there are few organizations that would permit the expulsion of a member for refusing or failing to bring in a new member; but without reference to the penalty for failure, the application of this principle of individual effort would prove most effective wherever it were tried. Indeed, it was largely due to this means that over 50,000 miners were organized in the anthracite fields during the summer of 1905. At any rate, the plan is worth trying and the prize is worth striving for.

Let each man feel that he is an important part of the labor movement, that he is personally responsible for its success or failure. Let us, individually and collectively, resolve that the years 1910 and 1911 shall mark an epoch in the growth and progress of the labor movement of our country.

LABOR'S GREAT FIGHT.

Opposed by Mighty Forces, it approaches the Goal of Justice and Human Rights.

It takes courage—and pluck—to fight, and never more so than in an uphill battle. Labor leaders and followers everywhere recognize that fact; also they realize that the victory they strive for cannot be taken by storm in one grand assault, but must come by tantalizingly (so it seems at times at least) slow degrees.

It required more than a mere flesh wound to bring labor to the fighting stage. It will take more than that to make it stop fighting until the battle is won.

No regiment ever faced the fire of a strong enemy that did not at times falter. Many have retreated when things became too warm for them.

Certain portions of the vast army of organized labor have at times faltered, some have even retreated, but in the main the army has steadily improved in fighting courage and in strength until today it is nearer the goal of victory than ever it was. And this, notwithstanding the efforts of the Manufacturers' Association, the United States Steel corporation and other fair wage, short hour haters, who have called into play unlimited capital, the highest courts in the land, the militia, politics and what not to stay its onward march. No tactics were too unscrupulous to employ against organized labor, no amount of money too great to throw into the fight. Nothing that could be done has not apparently been done to hold back the oncoming army. And yet it marches on—not serenely at all times, but onward nevertheless.

Each and every member of a labor union is a soldier in this great fight. Each and every soldier has to suffer his share of the hardships of war. It requires courage to fight and the real test comes in time of strike when mayhap the pocket is light, the stomach empty and the larder devoid of the necessities of life.

It is when the bombs of doubt and misrepresentation regarding the union leaders are fired into camp by the enemy that the soldier displays his courage or his cowardice. A strong man will nearly always fight back. The courage of a man weakened by the doubt and worry of perhaps months of striking is more susceptible to blows of misapprehension.

In days gone by men—our ancestors—gave up their homes, their families, and in countless cases, their lives for their country, and considered that they were but doing their duty.

Approximately 2,000,000 men are now fighting for their rights. Are not the

rights of the millions of working people—men, women and even children—worthy of some sacrifices? How can men stand by and see others fighting their battle for them? For shame on those who have not manhood enough in them to come out and give a hand in the battle against oppression! For shame on those stay at homes who dare not carry a union card for fear of offending those they call master!

The sweatshop, child labor, the twelve and the ten hour day, insanitary workshops, unsafe, poorly inspected mines, wage reducing and price raising corporations, corrupt politics—these and more—is it not a man's battle to fight these institutions? Is a man worthy of the name, who, having to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, will benefit directly or indirectly if they be removed and does not come out and enlist himself?

Every man who joins the union ranks depletes that of the enemy by one. It is not right to term capital the enemy, you say? Perhaps not in the accepted sense of that word. But if capital as a whole has ever done anything for labor that would entitle it to be termed a friend I have yet to learn of it.

Individual employers there are who are most fair to their employees—now. We read today of model factories, etc., here and there. Was any thought ever given to the welfare of the workingman until the advent of organized labor? Were there any "To Let" signs staring the visitor at the former sweatshop in the face? Were there any laws for the regulation of the employment of child labor? Or, if there were any of the latter, were they ever enforced? Were such institutions as the eight hour day dreamed of a few years ago? What assurance had—what assurance has—the individual non-union workingman that the wages of today may not be cut in twain tomorrow? The law of supply and demand you say? Yes, but is there a position for every man in the world today? If so, what of the thousands of strong, able-bodied men who walk the streets of our great cities, sometimes even in summer, when work should be most easily procured?

Ah, what a great fight organized labor has had? What a stupendous battle it still has to fight! And what a vast army of courageous, whole-souled, thinking men it has to fight with!

Each member of the vast army of union workingmen can do his part.—C. L. Blaine in Shoe Workers' Journal.

HAZARD OF INDUSTRY.

Accidents to Workers Not Due to their Carelessness—A Plea for Justice to Toilers.

Professor Henry R. Seager of Columbia University, vice chairman of the state commission to investigate the subject of employers' liability in New York, said in a recent address:

On our railroads three times as many employees are killed and five times as many are maimed each year as on the railroads of the United Kingdom and the situation in our coal mines is almost as bad for there each year we average a loss of three and one-third out of every thousand persons employed, whereas in England the average is two; in Germany two and a half while in Belgium the average is one.

The prevention of these accidents is a pressing social problem, but it is not of this that I wish to speak tonight, but of the method we have of caring for the 100,000 workmen who are maimed and the 20,000 widows and the 60,000 orphans that are left as a result of these accidents. Our method of caring for them is neither just nor generous. We leave them to the mercy of a law that has been discredited as out of date in every other civilized country but ours.

There are five things in our present law that are wrong. In the first place, it is fundamentally wrong in principle; in the second place, it fails signally to remedy a serious social problem; in the third, it involves appalling waste; in the fourth, it embitters the relations between the employer and the employed, and in the fifth place, the system is morally demoralizing.

Statistics show that more than one-half of the accidents are due to the hazards of industry, not because the employees are careless, but because of the nature of the industry. In at least three-fourths of the cases, the loss falls on the wage earner, in a great majority of the cases rendering him penniless. Not over 30 per cent of what the employer is required to spend under the present law goes to the workman.

Industrial accidents are certainly twice as frequent in the United States in proportion to the number of men employed as they are in the European countries. This makes the defects in our employers' liability law all the more regrettable. Under our law not more than one-fourth

of the victims of industrial accidents are entitled to indemnity. Moreover, the amount of the liability in cases where the employer is liable is so uncertain and so irregular that employers usually insure themselves against it.

Statistics submitted by the insurance companies show that on the average, not more than 45 per cent of the money employers pay out in premiums is actually paid to injured employees in the settlement of claims. About one-third of this goes to the lawyers, the result being that only about 30 per cent of what the employers' liability costs the employer is of any benefit to the injured.

These and other defects in the actual operation of a system of employers' liability based on negligence have led all important countries except the United States to abandon it. Since 1884, when Germany introduced her compulsory accident insurance system, twenty of the leading nations of the world have adopted the plan of putting on industry the cost of indemnifying all the victims of industrial accidents except those who owe their injuries to their own deliberate and willful negligence.

The principal reason for imposing on the employer the cost of indemnifying the victims of all accidents is that accidents, as a rule, are not due to personal negligence, but to the nature of the industry which the employer carries on for his own benefit. The cost of insuring his plant and machinery is now a regular item in the expense of production. Under a system of workmen's compensation the cost of insuring employees from accidents becomes such an item.

The industry is compelled to pay for men's maimed bodies and shortened lives in the same way that it pays for worn-out plants and used up raw materials. Both are alike costs necessary to the prosecution of industry for which consumers for whose benefit the industry is carried on should be made to pay.

As New York is the leading industrial state of the country, there seems to be special reason why it should take the lead in introducing a more humane and intelligent policy with reference to this law, and there is every reason to anticipate that other states will follow the example of New York.

IMPOSSIBILITIES MADE POSSIBLE.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS.

"It's impossible!" The man who employs these words is nearly always sincere. He utters them with the air of conviction that implies there is no room for further argument. He sees his impossibility clearly, feels it, accepts it, can not doubt it. He classifies it with his other impossibilities—that the lion can not be converted into the lamb, that the sea can't be rid of its salt, that the sky can't come down to earth. The thing's impossible, and there with him the subject ends.

Few are the trade union men of today who have not at one time or another been set in their opinion that organization among workers of certain classes, or nationalities, or districts or occupations, was impossible. "It's impossible! Only look at them!" has been said time and again of poorly paid laborers, perhaps newly arrived immigrants, when it has been proposed to try to spread the light of the trade union among them. But time and occasion have shown that they could be organized, and that when organized they could add 25 or even 50 per cent to their wages.

"It's impossible!" was the general exclamation when trade agreements were first proposed. Later, after a few successes, the impossibility was to be with the occupations not yet tried. The doubting Thomases were found loud-voiced in every trade. But, for all that, trade agreements have become one of the leading features of modern American unionism.

"It's impossible—" The eight-hour movement in its infancy was utopianism. Its promoters were ridiculous impracticables. Their campaign cry was mere sound—not even being worthy of serious counter-argument. No industry could pay, with eight hours. Impossible for that one reason; so eight hours went to the impossible class to be ignored by its opponents until they waked up to see eight hours established in many industries about them.

"It's impossible!" The union label was foolish, effectless, worthless, a grafting scheme, not a factor in trade unionism—until it was honestly and thoroughly tried. So, also, it was good enough for the cigarmakers, but was of no account for the printing trade—until it went on millions of dollars' worth of printing yearly. It was of no help in organizing generally until it brought into the unions

many a factory that couldn't be reached by other means.

"It's impossible!" The solution of the convict labor problem was an impossibility when every penal institution in the country could be used as a means of enriching contractors and pauperizing free labor. It was indeed a heartbreaking public question. How many legislatures were besieged by trade unionist committees before the means were discovered by which contract prison labor could be abolished. How many union committeemen were told that they were wasting their time—that they were senseless labor agitators—before the wise legislators in certain states learned that contract prison labor ought to be impossible! The fight is still on, but to a good extent the impossible has become the possible.

"It's impossible!" It was said of other great moves made by organized labor when first proposed. Nothing was more impossible than the referendum, now employed by nearly every international trade union and now in the constitution of half a dozen states. To prevent wage reductions was to be utterly impossible after the crisis of 1907, but nevertheless wages did not go down, and they have recently in not a few occupations taken good advances. To abolish overtime, to prevent child labor, to restrict women's labor, all this was impossible not only to opponents, but to many a wageworker whose head had bowed to the yoke so long that successful rebellion against wrong seemed impossible.

To the unimaginative, the unsanguine, the born serf, the timid, the believer in things as they are because they are, impossibilities hedge their way through life. Every just claim of the workers, every bold plan for their aid, every assertion against the abuse of authority, every blow struck for one's self and the workers generally, is but foolish effort sure to end at the impossible.

Go back far enough, and the trade union was impossible, the minimum wage scale was impossible, the union shop was impossible.

You who are confronted with difficulties, do not halt at the impossible. Glance back over the story of trade unionism, see the impossibilities that it has made possible, and push forward to render your hopes for the men and women of your craft or calling realities.

Fellow-workers! Forward! Organize! Unite! Federate!

RULING OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 18, 1910.

Editors Official Journals:

BROTHERS: You no doubt are aware of the present situation brought about by a ruling of the postoffice department, wherein it was held that under the law granting trades journals second class mail privileges, such journals did not have the right to carry paid advertising, and also in regard to another ruling by the department that trades journals did not come under the general act governing the admission of publications to the second class privilege, on account of the fact that in most instances the subscriptions to the trades journals were made as a part of the dues.

While we believe the ruling of the department is in error, still that does not effect the situation, and consequently a bill was introduced in Congress and passed by the House of Representatives on June 6, which bill will relieve the situation and grant to our official organs that right which I believe they should possess, namely, to be entitled to second class mail privileges, and at the same time be permitted to accept advertisements. The bill which has passed the House is known as House Bill No. 22239, and is as follows:

An Act to admit to the mails as second class matter periodical publications issued by or under the auspices of benevolent and fraternal societies and orders and institutions of learning or by trades unions and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

That from and after the passage of this Act, all periodical publications issued from a known place of publication at stated intervals, and as frequently as four times a year, by or under the auspices of a benevolent or fraternal society or order organized under the lodge systems and having a bona fide membership of not less than one thousand persons, or by a regularly incorporated institution of learning, or by a regularly established state institution of learning supported in whole or in part by public taxation, or by or under the auspices of a trades union, and all publications of strictly professional, literary, historical, or scientific societies, including the bulletins issued by state boards of health, shall be admitted to the mails as second class matter, and the postage thereon shall be the same as on other second hand matter, and such

periodical publications, issued by benevolent or fraternal societies or orders, trades unions, strictly professional, literary, historical or scientific societies, shall have the right to carry advertising matter, whether such matter pertains to such benevolent or fraternal societies or orders, trades unions, strictly professional, literary, historical, or scientific societies, or to other persons, institutions or concerns; but such periodicals, hereby permitted to carry advertising matter, must not be designed or published primarily for advertising purposes, and shall be originated and published to further their own objects and purposes, respectively; and all such periodicals shall be formed of printed paper sheets, without board, cloth, leather or other substantial binding, such as distinguish printed books for preservation from periodical publications: Provided, that the circulation through the mails of periodical publications, issued by benevolent or fraternal societies or orders, or by trades unions, strictly professional, literary, historical, or scientific societies, as second class matter, shall be limited to copies mailed to members, exchanges, and bona fide subscribers, together with ten per centum of such circulation in addition as copies: Provided further, that the office of publication of any such periodical publication shall be fixed by the association or body by which it is published or by its executive board, and such publication shall be printed at such place and entered at the nearest postoffice thereto.

Passed the House of Representatives June 6, 1910.

Attest:

A. McDOWELL, Clerk.

This bill has gone to the United States Senate, and I am just in receipt of advice from a friendly Congressman, stating he does not think there will be much difficulty in getting it passed through the Senate and enacted into law, but he suggests that we bring some pressure to bear on the United States Senators in order to insure the passage of this bill.

You no doubt appreciate that Congress will soon adjourn, and it is of the highest importance to us that this measure should be enacted into law before that adjournment takes place; therefore, I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to this matter, and am going to suggest that you immediately take such action by wire, as in your judgment seems wise, through your organization to give this bill as much backing as possible in the Senate.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

L. W. QUICK,
Grand Secretary and Treasurer.

223 UNIONS JOIN A. F. OF L.

Twice as Many Charters Issued in Last
• Eight Months Than the Year Before—
Executive Council in Session.

Washington, D. C.—Despite the opposition and misrepresentation of the professional union-busters and employers' associations, the American Federation of Labor has gained 100 per cent in the number of charters issued to new organizations since last October, as compared to the same period of the previous year, according to the report of Secretary Morrison submitted to the Executive Council in session here.

The report shows that 233 charters had been issued to new labor unions in the last eight months, while only 111 charters were issued for the same period the year before. Of the new chartered organizations, 98 were local unions, 66 federal labor unions, 57 city central bodies, one international union and one State Federation.

From October 1, 1909, to June 1, 1910, the income of the A. F. of L. with the cash on hand amounted to \$283,644.43, and the expenditures were \$119,926.48, leaving a balance of \$168,717.95.

With the labor chiefs convened in the national capital and Congress about to adjourn without enacting any of the measures providing for the protection of American wage-earners and their organizations, there is much speculation here as to what plans the Executive Council will formulate to meet the crisis.

The application for a charter from the Western Federation of Miners is before the Executive Council, and a committee of the former organization and one from the United Mine Workers of America are here to help in the work of solidifying the ranks of the metal and coal miners.

At the opening of the second day's session of the Executive Council, a telegram was received from Barre, Vt., announcing the sudden death of P. F. McCarthy, international secretary of the Quarry Workers' Union. In behalf of the council, President Gompers sent a telegram of condolence to the bereaved family.—Printing Trades Magazine

of the educational council of the association.

An address was delivered by Labor Commissioner Brake before the association, urging the school teachers to inform themselves as to the objects of union labor. That much interest was evinced is evidenced by the action taken by the association as noted.

Apparently it would not be a difficult matter to convince a great majority of school teachers throughout the country that they are "wage earners." Unfortunately, many of them, unwittingly, however, regard themselves as in the "professional" category. While school teaching may technically be assigned to be a "professional" vocation, yet the fact that "salary" or "wages" is received for services performed unerringly blends the "professional" with the "wage earner."

Much prejudice has been engendered in the minds of school teachers for reasons already referred to, but with the beggarly wages paid the pedagogue, coupled with the ever increasing cost of the necessities of life, there is a growing unrest among the teachers.

As the Colorado school teachers have determined to give ear to the arguments of union labor, there can be no good reason advanced why labor officials of other states should not bestir themselves in interesting the school teachers of their particular section.

The aggregate number of teachers would be difficult to determine, but a conservative estimate places the figures at approximately 1,000,000 employed in the public schools of the United States. The field certainly presents an area sufficiently broad and attractive to lend interest to those who are anxious to assist in the great common work of uplift.

It is confidently to be expected that within the coming few years this class of wage earners will have awoke to the possibilities of concerted and collective effort. Legislation is needed, but legal enactment guarding the best interests of the teachers, can never be accomplished until they perfect an organization among themselves, based upon the material interests of its members. A higher education is to be invited, but an equally higher standard of living must of necessity be co-ordinate.

SCHOOL TEACHERS NEXT.

BY M. GRANT HAMILTON.

The Colorado Teachers' Association, comprising a membership of 7,000, in session in Denver the latter part of last December, by an unanimous vote decided to send fraternal delegates to chartered central bodies of the American Federation of Labor. The state labor commissioner, Edwin V. Brake, was elected a member

KIRBY FIGURES.

John Kirby, Jr., of Dayton, Ohio, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, recently made a speech at a builders' exchange banquet in Worcester, Mass., in which he did some figuring on the numerical strength of labor organizations. He said:

"Statistics for 1908 give a total of 29,285,922 wage earners in the United States,

with a total membership in labor unions of 4,482,354, divided as follows:

"American Federation of Labor, 1,408,490, or less than five per cent.

"Western Federation of Miners, 419,067, or less than one and one-half per cent.

Knights of Labor, 179,140, or less than three-fifths of one per cent.

Independent Miners of West Virginia, 2,980, or one one-hundredth of one per cent.

"Industrial Workers of the World, 74,000, or about five-twentieths of one per cent.

"Scattering, 25,000, or less than one-tenth of one per cent, making a total of 2,108,677, which, with membership in the various railway brotherhoods of 2,373,677, or about eight per cent, makes a grand total of 4,482,354, or 15 3-10 per cent of all the wage earners in this country."

Mr. Kirby neglected counting up the classes of wage earners who are, as yet, outside the sphere of labor organizations, namely, domestic servants, agricultural laborers, a host of wage working small property owners and the like in the rural districts and villages not swallowed up by modern industrialism; besides, of course, are those wage workers, the managers, the counting room gentry, and the near-professional folks whose hands are not calloused by their toil. All these, of course, count neither for nor against union strength.

Mr. Kirby might make a comparison with some vitality in it if he were to establish the number of workmen that the master builders and the manufacturers he addressed can call upon to take the places of their employes in time of lockout or strike. That's the rub. All the rest is rhetoric. Trade unionists have no direct competitive interest in the various classifications of wage earners not represented in their own "labor market." And, contrary to Mr. Kirby's assertions, the American Federation of Labor does not claim that it has a mandate from the classes of unorganized workers to represent them. It has, however, undoubted influence on the wages and conditions of employment of many among them.

By the way, what proportion of the employers of the United States does Mr. Kirby's Manufacturers' Association represent. Couldn't he give the public a few statistics on this point? The statistics he gives for the labor organizations seem to leave but little area for his own crowd of non-union employers and their employes in any of the industrial centers.

Further, Mr. Kirby's figures for the labor organizations are his own—we do not vouch for them, and know of nobody that does.

Mr. Kirby and his ilk fail to understand the spirit of labor, its unity and solidarity in every critical period, but they may live and perhaps will learn.—Federationist.

ABSURD COURT DECISIONS.

In an article entitled "Some Follies in Our Criminal Procedure," in McClure's Magazine for April, Charles B. Brewer gives some of the examples which led President Taft to declare "that the administration of the criminal law is a disgrace to civilization." Here are a number of cases where convictions were upset by supreme courts, and why:

"Because the stolen shoes were not a 'pair,' as charged in the indictment. (The thief, in his haste, had picked up two 'rights.')

 (3rd Harring, Del., p. 559.)"

Because one member of a firm of three names from whom goods had been stolen was dead, and the indictment had named all three. (110 S. W. Reporter, p. 909.)

Because the indictment had charged the burglar with intent to commit a "theft" instead of intent to commit a "felony." (108 S. W. Reporter, p. 371.)

Because the indictment charged that the thief had entered the house of one Wyatt with intent to steal from him, and the defense was able to prove that Lamb also occupied the house, and it was Lamb's property the thief was looking for. (101 S. W. Reporter, p. 800.)

Because the accused had been indicted for attempting to murder Kamegay instead of Kornegay, the real name. (100 S. W. Reporter, p. 890.)

Because the murdered man's name was Patrick Fitzpatrick and not Patrick FitzPatrick, as charged. (3d Cal. Reporter, p. 367.)

Because the indictment named a specific, though a correct date, instead of saying "on or about" a certain date. (Pa. Lower Court, Montgomery Co., 1908.)

Because the lower court had failed to advise the jury that the thief had stolen the goods "feloniously" or with "criminal intent." (89 Mon. Reporter, p. 829.)

Because the indictment had not stated that a "blackjack" (designed especially for cracking skulls) was a "dangerous or deadly" weapon. (60 S. E.)

BABIES HALT STRIKE TRAIN.

With a heroic resolution the wives of several hundred striking quarrymen at Mery-sur-Oise, France, placed their babies on the railway track to prevent the removal of some trucks.

The expedient was used with pathetic effect. A strike among the quarrymen has been on for some time. All work had ceased for a week, and the dispute was so serious that the owners of the quarries refused to have any more interviews with the strikers until work was resumed.

A report went round that a number of trucks loaded with building stone, which had been standing idle for a week, were to be hauled away. A locomotive, in fact, was waiting at the station. A crowd of 200 strikers proceeded to the

siding of the railway station and sat on the rails. Their wives soon followed them, some carrying their babies in their arms and others wheeling them along in perambulators.

The locomotive whistled for the road to be cleared, and started to move. The women took their babies and placed them on the track. "Dare to run over them!" they shouted and screamed to the driver of the locomotive. The engine came along slowly. The women never flinched as it came nearer and nearer.

The engineer looked on quietly. When the engine had come to within a few yards of the babies, he thought it had gone far enough and the engine stopped. A squad of policemen and some station employes parleyed with the strikers and their wives, but it was of no use.

VICTORY FOR MARGARET HALEY

Mrs. Young's Election as President of National Educational Association Due to Fine Work of Head of Chicago Federation of Teachers.

(Labor News.)

Miss Margaret Haley, president of the Chicago Federation of Teachers, A. F. of L., and one of the most prominent trade unionists in this country, is given credit for the election of Mrs. Ellen Flagg Young as president of the National Educational Association, which took place at the annual convention in Boston.

The contest is reported as having been the most spirited of any in the history of the organization, and Mrs. Young's election is looked upon as being a distinct slap at the "book trust," which, it is said, has practically controlled the gang, or what is more politely referred to as the "old guard," for some years, but with all its support tendered Z. X. Snyder, the opposing candidate, they were beaten by a vote of 167 to 376 in favor of Mrs. Young.

Because of Miss Haley's connection with the trade union movement in Chicago, and the prominent part she took in Mrs. Young's campaign, she was the center of interest all through the convention and was earnestly sought by newspaper men, and in an interview concerning the organization of teachers, of which she is the head in Chicago, she said:

"Conditions were such in Chicago that we teachers were driven to organization, and it has been a wonderful thing for us as well as for the city. I could tell you about some wonderful things we have done there and of the great amounts turned into the city of Chicago in taxation of public franchises. Those fran-

chises were not taxed until after the Teachers Federation came into existence, so you see the city has benefitted as well as the teachers."

Miss Haley said that she looked forward to the teachers organizing in all parts of the country, when they have realized how much good the Federation has accomplished in Chicago. She said it might look a little out of the question to some teachers to affiliate with labor, but when it is a question of dollars and cents and better conditions they will not stop to consider the matter of position to such an extent.

In referring to the organization which was started in Buffalo last week, Miss Haley said:

"Perhaps you may know it, but last Saturday the Buffalo teachers organized into a federation affiliated with labor, and I believe it will be a power for good in that city. In Chicago all the schools are organized and elect one representative from each school, that school paying the dues of its representative."

THE QUITTERS.

The world has little use for a quitter—the fellow who starts and backs out because the creek is up; the fellow who starts to trim the hedge, blisters his hands and decides to let it go until spring; the boy who goes racing through his school books until he strikes participles and compound fractions, then wants to quit school to get a job; the girl who starts out to be a great musician and learns just enough to play ragtime and beguile the fancies of some young saphead.

There is a big family of these quitters, but they are a sorry lot. They never want a job that takes time and patience. With the qualifications of a bill poster they would like to earn the salary of a railroad president. Their ideal is a job that requires two hours of easy labor each day, with Saturdays and holidays off. You will find them scattered up and down the road of human failure, turning back from the handle of the plow, complaining of their lot and of the world. They are clogs in the wheels, broken rails on the road, time killers, patience killers, forever wanting what they have not.

The people who accomplish things in this world are those who qualify themselves in spite of bad crops, high water and measles; who hang onto their work until failure turns to victory; whose courage rises as difficulties thicken, and whose faces are forever turned toward the rising sun. It was not a bad plan, that of the Indians flinging their boys into the river, where they had to swim or drown. The best thing any parent can do for his child is to compel him to finish

what he undertakes. Keep him at it, no matter how much he cries and objects; make him do the thing he started to do. And the best thing any boy or girl can do is to do this very thing without being made to do it. Success is a good deal like habit. There is not much difference between failure and success. One quits and the other does not.—Spare Moments.

AN EMPLOYER'S TRIBUTE TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

"For ten years," said Potter Palmer, of Chicago, "I made as desperate a fight against organized labor as was ever made by mortal man. It cost me considerable more than a million dollars to learn that there is no labor so skilled, so intelligent, so faithful, as that which is governed by an organization whose officials are well balanced, level-headed men. * * * I now employ none but organized labor, and never have the least trouble, each believing that the one has no right to oppress the other."—The Potters' Herald.

IN PRAISE OF THOSE WHO TOIL.

Two men I honor, and no third. First, the toilworn craftsman that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth, and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard hand; crooked, coarse; wherein, notwithstanding, lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet. Venerable, too,

is the rugged face, all weather tanned, besoiled, with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a man living manlike. O, but the more venerable for thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee! Hardly entreated brother! For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed; thou wert our conscript, on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles were so marred. For in thee lay a God-created form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of labor; and the body, like thy soul, was not to know freedom. Yet toil on; thou art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensable, for daily bread.

A second man I honor, and still more highly: Him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread, but the bread of Life. Is not he, too, in his duty; endeavoring toward inward harmony; revealing this, by act or by word, through all his outward endeavors, be they high or low. Highest of all, when his outward and his inward endeavor are one; when we can name him artist; not earthly craftsman only, but inspired thinker, who with heaven-made implement, conquers. Heaven for us! If the poor and humble toil that we have food, must not the high and glorious toil for him in return, that he have light, have guidance, freedom, immortality? These two, in all their degrees, I honor; all else is chaff and dust, which let the wind blow whither it listeth.—Thomas Carlyle.

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Address PETER W. COLLINS, G. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Minneapolis No. 24.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

I wish to express in my feeble way my opinion on the electrical situation in the Twin Cities, and Minnesota in general, and to also tell what the locals in the cities, that are twins, are doing.

In the first case, I wish to say that since the rump convention in St. Louis in September, 1908, the four locals in Minneapolis and St. Paul have stood loyal, not to our international officers alone (although they deserve our support) but the side of this case that we thought was right and backed by the A. F. of L.

And why should the A. F. of L. support our officers? A few words will explain that fully. They (our international officers) always have obeyed the mandates of the A. F. of L. They also lived up to agreements entered into at Denver and reaffirmed at Toronto, and I think these two reasons are sufficient to command the respect and support of the great A. F. of L.

Now a few words to the members regarding the situation in the two cities.

We have four loyal locals here—23, 24, 292 and 541—and the membership to a man are of very high quality and are trade unionists to the core, living up to every obligation and doing their duty to the best of their ability.

We have here one dual local, comprising members of both cities who in the most part are men that have been misinformed as to the conditions of this fight to bring our international back to where it was before the struggle started. They have members that are good men and when they are once convinced that they are on the wrong side, will come over and make good union men.

On the other hand, they have men that the loyal locals have saved their lives—one in particular—a goose herder from Holland, that we kept in a local hospital nearly all one winter, saved his life at four distinct times, and the members went down into their pockets and held him up for some time after.

Now, this man let himself go in arrears in 1906, in June, and he squared up by putting his name on a new charter in 1907, but never paid any dues in his local,

which is the only bona fide outside local, No. 24, of Electrical Workers I know of in Minneapolis.

In the summer of 1908 he hit the head end of No. 3 on Jim Hill's big G, and while they were stopping for water up the line, he got pinched between the mail and baggage cars and very badly hurt. He was taken to a hospital in St. Cloud, Minn., for treatment, and our local was notified, but as he was not in good standing at the time nor had he been for a year previous, the local felt that if he didn't want to help us when he was in good health he couldn't expect us to help him when he got hurt. He is a single man, and previous to the time he got hurt, he had spent a goodly sum in different saloons in Minneapolis.

I spoke to this man in St. Paul and he was very sore on the local, and used an expression that if I wrote it in this letter I am afraid that my letter would be consigned to the waste paper basket.

Whether he is sore because Local No. 24 saved his life and paid the bill or because we refused to give him something that he had refused to pay for, for over a year before. I do not know, but I do know that I would not stoop to ask assistance from any local union that I had refused to support when in good health. And such men are not trade unionists, but are looking for something they are not willing to support and pay for.

Now, this same man and I belong to a fraternal society, from which in sickness he knows that we derive many benefits, but you have to pay your dues in advance and you have got to do it or you are denied your benefits—it is the law of the society and must be live up to. He also knows that in this same society that trade union men are held in very high esteem, but you have got to be a man all the time. He knows that character is surely manhood.

Another phase of the situation up here is this, for the last four years there have been men that we could never live up. Now, they acknowledge that they should be union men at least, and when this is settled and all is said and done, they to live up to the stand they have taken now, they will come into our loyal locals and help to repair the damage they are now doing by joining the secession movement.

I look for them by the last of September, this year.

Bro. Collins called upon us June 27, 28 and 29, and all I can say is that he convinced a lot of men up here that were in doubt as to how we stood. He declared himself open to questions at the meeting of No. 23, and answered them all, and they asked some. His answers were clear and concise, and he didn't beat around the bush at all. But the best I heard was asked by a dual member: "Will you lay down at this time?" Bro. Collins answered that question so quickly and with such a decided No, that the questioner was satisfied, and went home.

Along that line, no one has to lay down that are right. That is why Bro. Collins says no. I think I have covered the case very thoroughly, so I will take up something else.

I wish to invite all trade unionists and in fact any one that attends the Minnesota State Fair the first week in September, to visit the exhibit put on by the State Central Electrical committee. This committee consists of three members from Local No. 23 of St. Paul, mixed; No. 24 of Minneapolis, outside; No. 292, Minneapolis, outside; and No. 541, Minneapolis, fixture men. S. G. Dyer 24, is chairman, and R. E. Holmes, 23, secretary. Our exhibit will be valued at about ten thousand dollars when it is installed, and we are all affiliated with the A. F. of L., so deserve your patronage. (Come, have a look.)

Hoping this will not be consigned to the waste paper basket, and that we are united before the close of the year.

UNIONISM A GODSEND.

The popular way of looking at the matter has been in regard to the public as complacent and disinterested spectators of the progress of unionism, as if the success of unionism were not as vital to the interests of the public at large as it is to unionism. It has been begging the support of the business and professional world as a favor, and the business and professional world has wrongly been permitted to earn much deserved applause for "standing up for the workingman" upon such occasions as they have pleased to extend a helping hand. Unionism has made an intelligent and sustained effort to present the matter in its true colors. It has been but little interested in the concerns of the world at large, and the world at large has repaid it in its own coin.

This state of affairs, so detrimental to the interests of not unionism only, but

I nearly forgot to state that we are initiating new members every meeting night, and they all like it.

As this is going to a WORKER, where the writer is not afraid to sign his name, I am going to sign mine.

Fraternally,

S. G. DYER,
Financial Secretary.

Springfield No. 427.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

The following resolutions were adopted by Local No 427:

WHEREAS, It has pleased the Almighty God in His infinite wisdom to call from the home of our esteemed brother, J. Valentine, his beloved daughter, leaving her sorrowing family and friends in deep-sest gloom; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 427, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, extend to the sorrowing family their deepest sympathy in this, their hour of affliction; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the sorrowing family, a copy spread on our minutes, and a copy furnished our official journal for publication.

W. M. CHILES, President pro tem.

J. L. GLEASON, Secretary.

F. H. SPEARS,

JAS. P. NOONAN,

J. L. GLEASON,

Committee.

the public at large, can be changed with a modicum of the energy now wasted in trying to convince the public that it ought to help unionism from altruistic truth and look the world and the devil right in the eye. Men who can have courage without whistling for it and joy without shouting to bring it. Men through whom the current of everlasting life runs still and deep and strong. Men too large for certain limits, and too strong for sectarian bands. Men who know their message and tell it. Men who know their place and fill it. Men who mind their own business. Men who will not die. Men who are not too lazy to work, nor too proud to be poor. When in the office, in the workshop, the counting room, the bank, in every place of trust and responsibility, we can have such men as these, we shall have a Christian civilization the highest and best the world ever saw.—Progress.